873.1
S255

8339

LIBRARY
College of St. Francis
JOLIET, ILL.

University of St. Francis
GEN 873.1 S255
Saunders
Vergil's primitive Italy
3 0301 00035226 6

This book may be kept

FOURTEEN DAYS

A fine will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

MY 12'66
OC 22 70

GAYLORD 142

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

# VERGIL'S PRIMITIVE ITALY

BY

CATHARINE SAUNDERS

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN VASSAR COLLEGE

NEW YORK

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON, TORONTO, MELBOURNE, & BOMBAY

1930

Copyright, 1930, By
Oxford University Press,
New York, Inc.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To
F. C. S.
AND
F. H. S.

THE PUBLICATION
OF THIS BOOK WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY GRANTS
FROM TWO FUNDS ESTABLISHED AT
VASSAR COLLEGE
*THE J. LEVERETT MOORE RESEARCH FUND IN CLASSICS*
AND
*THE LUCY MAYNARD SALMON FUND FOR RESEARCH*
AND BY A GRANT FROM
*THE COMMITTEE ON MONOGRAPHS*
OF
*THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION*

8339

# PREFACE

My purpose in this monograph has been to test the accuracy of Vergil's picture of primitive Italy by the results of archaeological exploration and by the testimony of ancient literature. It is plain that an undertaking of such magnitude is hardly more than begun in so brief a work as this. The themes which are discussed in the following pages are among those which I personally felt interested in studying as I taught Vergil's Aeneid to college students and realized the wealth of material which, coming to light mainly in the last generation, has not yet found a place in our editions of the Aeneid.

Chapter VIII, The Relation of Aeneid III to the Rest of the Poem, does not strictly belong to my subject, but it seemed to have sufficient practical value for students of the Aeneid to justify its place here. For permission to include it in this book I am indebted to the editors of *The Classical Quarterly,* where it was first published (19 [1925], 85–91). I am under similar obligation to the editors of *The American Journal of Philology* for allowing me to use my paper on Cremation and Inhumation in the Aeneid, which originally appeared in that journal (46 [1925], 352–357), and to the editor of *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for the use of my paper, The Volscians in Vergil's Aeneid, which was included in the *Transactions* (58 [1927], 92–99).

The writing of this monograph was begun in 1925 at the American Academy in Rome, where I had the

advantage of criticism from Professor Tenney Frank, of The Johns Hopkins University, then Acting Head of the School of Classical Studies of the Academy. There, two years later, Professor A. W. Van Buren gave me many valuable suggestions out of his wide knowledge of Roman archaeology.

My thanks are further due to the following scholars who have read my manuscript: to Professor Grace H. Macurdy, of Vassar College; to Professor Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, Columbia University; to Professor F. W. Shipley, of Washington University, and to Professor W. A. Oldfather, of the University of Illinois, both members of the Committee on Monographs of the American Philological Association. From his long editorial experience Professor Knapp has generously given me invaluable aid in the final reading of all proofs and especially in reducing the large number of inconsistencies in form and of inaccuracies in citation which had escaped my notice. In all these matters we have had the hearty cooperation of the Oxford University Press.

In conclusion I wish to record my appreciation of the warm encouragement which I have received from the administration of Vassar College and from the Chairman of the Department of Latin, Professor Elizabeth H. Haight.

CATHARINE SAUNDERS

Vassar College,
June 2, 1930

# CONTENTS


| CHAPTER | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| | PREFACE | vii |
| I. | THE GREEKS IN VERGIL'S PRIMITIVE ITALY | 1 |
| | 1. Coast Towns in Southern Italy | 1 |
| | 2. Cumae | 13 |
| | 3. Ardea | 29 |
| | 4. Diomede at Arpi | 34 |
| | 5. Evander on the Palatine | 39 |
| | 6. Agylla (Caere) | 46 |
| II. | THE CITY OF LATINUS | 53 |
| III. | THE CATALOGUE OF AENEID X | 64 |
| IV. | THE VOLSCIANS | 87 |
| V. | HUMAN SACRIFICE | 97 |
| VI. | CREMATION AND INHUMATION | 121 |
| VII. | WARFARE AND ARMS | 129 |
| VIII. | THE RELATION OF AENEID III TO THE REST OF THE POEM | 194 |
| | LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | 210 |
| | INDEX | 213 |

CHAPTER I

# THE GREEKS IN VERGIL'S PRIMITIVE ITALY

## 1. Coast Towns in Southern Italy

It is plain that, in spite of instructions given him by the shade of Creusa (2, 780–784), Aeneas sets out from the Troad with no more definite idea of his ultimate goal than that it lies in the West. Only after vainly attempting to settle in Thrace (3, 16–69) and in Crete (3, 121–146), does he learn from the Penates in a vision that his new home is to be in Italia (3, 147–171).[1] Then, by a route which must long have been familiar to Mediterranean traders, the Trojans sail up the west coast of Greece to Buthrotum (3, 191–293), where, to their amazed delight, they find Helenus, son of Priam, ruling over the Greek cities which had belonged to his adversary, Pyrrhus (3, 294–355). When at last favoring breezes call the pilgrims to resume their long wanderings, Aeneas begs for specific directions from Helenus who, in the manner of the times, is not only king of the country but also priest, of Apollo (3, 359–369). Though Helenus professes to be unable to grant more than a partial revelation, he does outline the necessary route of the Trojans and in the process makes certain comments about Southern Italy which deserve our attention. 'First of all,' says Helenus, in effect (3, 381–398), 'the Italy for which you are

[1] For a fuller treatment of this point see below, Chapter VIII, The Relation of Aeneid III to the Rest of the Poem.

8339

bound is far away beyond Sicily, over the Ausonian Sea, past the lakes of the lower world and the Island of Circe; but this nearest border of the Italian coast which is washed by our own sea you must avoid, for in all its towns live wicked Greeks.' Then, by way of illustration, he names three particular districts (399–402): 'Here,' he says, 'the Narycian Locrians have placed their walls and Lyctian Idomeneus has occupied the Sallentine Plains with his soldiers; here is the well-known town of Philoctetes, the Meliboean leader, little Petilia, relying on her wall.' It will be noticed that Helenus does not name the places in their geographical order; his mention of these particular spots seems to have been determined by the fact that they were associated with the names of heroes from the Greek forces in the Trojan War and would, therefore, have a special significance for himself and for Aeneas.

It is plain that Vergil is representing as inspired (3, 359–373, 433–434) the long prophecy of which this passage forms a part. The directions about the course (381–387, 399–402, 410–432), the portent of the white sow (389–393), the urgent command to placate Juno (435–440), the importance of the visit to Cumae (441–460) are a divine communication from Apollo Archegetes by Helenus to the Trojan pilgrim; but we need hardly regard in this miraculous light the mere geographical comments about Southern Italy, for they are such as Helenus, living in a port of Epirus, might easily have made himself, without divine inspiration. From that rugged, inhospitable coast, the friendly, low-lying shores of Apulia and Calabria (3, 522) are easily visible [2] in fair weather;

[2] K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte,* Volume I, Part 1 [2] (1912), 233–234; J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 3 (1925), 669–670. I

they must have enticed mariners westward across the Adriatic far back in prehistoric days. That there was, indeed, a considerable trade over this route as early as late neolithic times is shown by the character of the pottery found on Apulian and Calabrian sites, while the later continuance of this trade from the Balkans is revealed by deposits along the Adriatic slope from Bologna to Taranto.[3]

Before archaeological science had disclosed such unsuspected trade-connections in the prehistoric world, we used to regard with amused tolerance the poet's references to Greek settlements in Italy at the close of the Trojan War; our limited vision reached hardly farther back than the historical period of Greek colonial expansion. As late as 1910, Orsi, the distinguished explorer of prehistoric Sicily, lamented our ignorance of the Magna Graecia of primitive times, referring to Bruttium and Lucania as still 'the polar regions of our archaeological map.'[4] But through the devoted labor of Italian palaeethnologists new fields are slowly coming within our comprehension. Gradually there is accumulating evidence which tends to show that after the fall of Knossos (*ca.* 1400 B.C.) the late Minoan civilization reached out into the more distant parts of the Mediterranean, and that, when the great structure began to disintegrate, the invading forces did not utterly crush it, but, to some extent, scattered it eastward to Cyprus

---

have used the term *Calabria* to denote the ancient region of that name, in the *heel* of the boot. Some archaeologists adopt the usage of medieval and modern geographers, according to which Calabria is in the *toe* of the boot, and includes ancient Bruttium and most of Lucania.

[3] Peet, 287–288, 415–418; von Duhn, 1, 37–38.

[4] P. Orsi, *Appunti di Protostoria e Storia Locrese,* in *Saggi di Storia Antica e di Archeologia* (1910), 156.

and the Levant, far into the northern Aegean, westward into southern Italy and Sicily, and, possibly, up the whole length of the Adriatic.[5] In the light of such evidence, incomplete though it be, we can no longer dismiss as mere childish nonsense the many traditions of settlements established in Italy by Trojan War refugees, whether Greek or Dardanian.[6]

Particularly interesting in this connection is the case of Locri, the first of the places mentioned by Helenus (3, 399). Servius tells us (on 3, 399; 11, 265) that its founders were the companions of Ajax Oileus, some of whom settled in Libya. Now the traditional date of the founding of the Greek colony of Locri lies in or near the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.,[7] but Orsi's excavations have demonstrated that, as early as the ninth century, there was a settlement on this site, from which we have plentiful evidence of a population of Siculi and, perhaps, also, of a second element composed of the descendants of the neolithic inhabitants of the region. In the Siculan graves of the Janchina and Canale districts of this prehistoric town were found quantities of native pottery. Many of the shapes are those which characterize the Siculan pottery of the Third Period

[5] J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 3, 633–637; Peet, Chapter XIX, especially page 512; A. W. Byvanck, *De Magnae Graeciae Historia Antiquissima* (1912), 15, 17–18; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age,* 149–150, *Italy,* 154–155.

[6] J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 3, 670–673; Beloch (see n. 2). Interesting evidence regarding the ancient idea of free communication between widely separated regions in the Mediterranean basin at the end of the Trojan War is seen in the Daniel-Servius comment on the wanderings of Idomeneus (on 3, 401): *Ad Italiam venisse ac post dicitur in Asiam profectus decessisse. Alii hunc regressum consedisse apud Apollinem Clarium tradunt.* Cf. Strabo 6, 1, 2.

[7] G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte,* 1 [2] (1893), 405, n. 1.

(900–700 B.C.).[8] Along with these were found other shapes which suggest the influence of trade-currents from Campania and Central Italy;[9] but of quite special significance for us are at least a dozen pieces of late Greek geometric ware, pointing to the existence of commerce with Greece before the founding of the colony of Locri, in the ninth and the eighth centuries B.C.[10] This is not surprising, for as Randall-MacIver[11] reminds us, these Locrian sites "look out immediately to those southern waters which were furrowed even in the Bronze Age by ships from Greece and the Levant."

The second place which Helenus specifies (3, 400) as among those inhabited by wicked Greeks is the *Campi Sallentini*, a district of ancient Calabria, with varying boundaries, though it is most often associated with the southern and the western portions of Calabria. Varro says[12] that the territory was

[8] This confirms the belief of the ancients in the presence of the Siculi on the mainland of Italy (Thucydides 6, 2, 4; Dionysius 1, 22; Polybius 12, 5–6). However, the Siculi seem to have proceeded from Sicily to the mainland, not from the mainland to Sicily, for Italy so far has yielded no graves of Orsi's Period I and Period II, but only graves of Period III and Period IV. See von Duhn, 1, 54; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, 210.

[9] Most numerous in this group were the large *amphorae* whose shape suggests that of the Villanovan urn. See Orsi, *Appunti*, 159 (cf. n. 4), *Notizie*, Supplement, 1912, 45–48; von Duhn, 1, 56.

[10] Orsi, *Appunti*, 159–160 (cf. n. 4), *Notizie*, Supplement, 1912, 48–50, 55–56; von Duhn, 1, 57; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, 206–208.

[11] *Iron Age*, 179.

[12] Cited by Probus on Vergil, *Ecl.* 6, 31 (Servius, Thilo-Hagen, 3, Part 2, 336–337): In tertio Rerum Humanarum <Varro> refert: Gentis Salentinae nomen tribus e locis fertur coaluisse, e Creta, Illyrico, Italia. Idomeneus e Creta oppido Blanda pulsus per seditionem bello Magnensium cum grandi manu ad regem Divitium ad Illyricum venit. Ab eo item accepta manu cum Locrensibus, plerisque profugis, in mari coniunctus per similem causam amicitia-

settled by Cretans, Illyrians, and Locrians under the leadership of Idomeneus, and that the chief towns were Uria (midway between Tarentum and Brundisium) and Castrum Minervae (the modern Castro, in the heel of the boot). Scanty as have been the archaeological explorations in this remote corner of Italy, we have some evidence of settlements there of a most primitive sort.[13] On the Promontorium Sallentinum (Promontorium Iapygium) is a cave, the Grotta del Diavolo, which was used not only for human habitation but also for the burial of the dead, while another of the same sort, the Grotta Romanelli, lies to the northeast, near Castro; a third grotto, that of Badisco, is between the two, at Castro. The manufactured articles found here point mainly to the early neolithic period; but, since the graves are in no condition to furnish evidence and the caves were used in later times, we can draw few inferences about the earliest inhabitants of the Sallentine Plains.

In warning the Trojans to avoid the Greek settlements in Southern Italy, Helenus mentions last of all (401–402) 'little Petilia,' founded by Philoctetes[14] and supported by her wall. In his comment on verse 402 Servius recalls how, after the Trojan War, Philoctetes, abandoned on the Island of Lemnos, was unwilling to return home because of his loathsome wounds, sed sibi parvam Petiliam in Calabriae par-

---

que sociatis Locros appulit. Vacuata eo metu urbe ibidem possedit aliquot oppida condidit, in queis Uria et Castrum Minervae nobilissimum. In tres partes divisa copia in populos duodecim. Salentini dicti, quod in salo amicitiam fecerint.

[13] See von Duhn, 1, 42.

[14] For a summary of numerous other traditions concerning Philoctetes in Italy see Byvanck, 21 (cf. n. 5). Compare F. Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, 1 ² (1881), Chapter VII ("Les Villes de Philoctète").

tibus fecit. Inserted in the long note are the following words of the Daniel-Servius: *nam ait Cato, a Philocteta, condita iam pridem civitate, murum tantum factum.* This is an interesting statement in view of what archaeological exploration has so often revealed, that the Greeks frequently placed their colonies on sites which had already been occupied. That ancient Petilia was on the height where now is situated the town of Strongoli is proved by the splendid Roman inscriptions discovered there; but the prehistoric city included also some lower land now known as Pianetti.[15] From the graves of the primitive settlement come certain objects, especially weapons, which closely resemble those from the Janchina and Canale districts of Locri.[16]

Notwithstanding his detailed instructions to the Trojans to avoid the nearby coast of Italy, Helenus seems to assume that they will stop on that coast for a little while to offer sacrifices (396–409), and Servius assures us (on 3, 550) that this was their sole motive when finally, having set out on their perilous voyage, they did actually land on the Calabrian shore. The spot to which they were borne for this purpose was none other than Castrum Minervae (Dionysius 1, 51), to whose neolithic grotto, Badisco, reference has already been made (page 6). In view of the fairly certain identification of Castrum Minervae with the modern Castro,[17] it is, perhaps, not too fanciful to see in the situation of the nearby Grotta Romanelli (page 6) that of the port which Vergil has described (3, 530–536):

[15] Orsi, *B.P.I.* 38 (1912), 184.

[16] Orsi, *ibidem;* von Duhn, 1, 65–66.

[17] Ch. Huelsen, Pauly-Wissowa, 3 (1899), 1769–1770, s.v. Castra, Castrum, 33.

Crebrescunt optatae aurae, portusque patescit
iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae.
Vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.
Portus ab euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum,
obiectae salsa spumant aspergine cautes.
Ipse latet: gemino demittunt bracchia muro
turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum.

Of the cave Pigorini writes: [18]

" A 50 kilm. da Lecce, là dove muore l'Appennino, si eleva il colle sul quale sorge l'antica Castro. Ai piedi di esso, ' circa ad un terzo dell'angusto sentiero che, sempre su rocce aspre, corre lungo la costiera interposta tra la città di Castro e le Terme di Santa Cesaria trovasi un bellissimo ed ampio seno di mare, dalla forma d'un grande anfiteatro, e proprio nel mezzo della curva, esposta ad oriente, si scorge l'ingresso di una caverna, mezzo nascosta da massi franati dal poggio, di una imponentissima breccia ossifera.' È la caverna la quale porta da lungo tempo il nome di *Grotta Romanelli.*"

For the temple on the *arx* we have no precise evidence [19] beyond that of the Daniel-Servius (on 3, 531): *Hoc autem templum Idomeneus condidisse dicitur, quod etiam castrum vocatur.*

Having paid due honors to Minerva and to Juno, the Trojans lose no time in leaving the *arva suspecta* (3, 550). Aeneas mentions (551–553) only four

[18] *B.P.I.* 30 (1904), 145–146. A considerable part of this description is quoted by Pigorini directly from the account of the cave given by Stasi e Regalia, *Grotta Romanelli,* in *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia* 34, 18.

[19] Strabo's reference (6, 3, 5) is merely to a Temple of Minerva among the Sallentini. There is a tradition that, when Aeneas was offering sacrifice at Castrum Minervae, Diomede appeared and restored to Nautes the Palladium. See Servius on *Aen.* 2, 166; 3, 407, 545. Cf. Dionysius 1, 51; 12, 16.

points which they pass on the whole south coast of Italy to Sicilian Aetna: 'Next we see the Gulf of Tarentum — Herculean Tarentum, if report be true — ; opposite rise the Lacinian goddess, the heights of Caulon, and shipwrecking Scylaceum.' In the phrase 'Herculean Tarentum, if report be true' we have a reference to the tradition (cf. Servius on 3, 551) that Phalantus, a descendant of Hercules, had led into the West a colony of bastard Lacedaemonians who had no position at home; these exiles settled in a little Calabrian town which Taras, son of Neptune, had built and to which his name was given.[20] The traditional date of the founding of the Greek colony is in the closing years of the eighth century B.C., but there has been excavated at Punta del Tonno, a little to the northwest of Taranto, a site which revealed three distinct layers, which Peet [21] briefly describes in the following words:

"The upper stratum contained remains of huts, with Mycenaean and proto-Corinthian pottery, and a figurine of the usual Mycenaean female type. Below this lay the *terramara,* and below that again a neolithic deposit containing hut-foundations with stone hearths, potsherds, and refuse of flint- and obsidian-working." If, then, the contents of the upper stratum indicate, as scholars have believed,[22] con-

[20] Several variants of this part of the tradition are recorded by the Daniel-Servius, on *Aen.* 3, 551. See Byvanck, 68–70 (cf. n. 5).

[21] 421. For a fuller account see the report of Quagliati, *Notizie,* 1900, 411–464. Cf. von Duhn, 1, 39, 49–50, *et passim.*

[22] The fragments of 'Late Mycenaean' ware found at Coppa Nevigata (in the southwest corner of the promontory of Garganus) Randall-MacIver (*Iron Age,* 240–241) has recently pronounced to be not Mycenaean, but geometric pottery of the Early Iron Age, indicating trade-connections with Greece or Epirus probably as early as the tenth century B.C. The fine geometric pottery uncovered in the Borgo Nuovo of Taranto in 1880 he believes to be due to for-

tinuous occupation of the spot from Late-Minoan times down to the founding of the colony (*ca.* 705 B.C.), while the lowest layer belongs in the late Stone Age, we have at Taranto one of the most interesting sites in Italy from the point of view of the palaeethnologist, a site, too, which lends no little measure of credibility to the traditions of Trojan War settlements in Italy (cf. above, page 4).

The great Heraeum of the Lacinian goddess, six miles distant from ancient Croton (the modern Cotrone), was still, in modern times, so conspicuous a landmark that it gave the names Capo di Nao (cf. *νάος*, 'temple') and Capo delle Colonne to the ancient Promontorium Lacinium; [23] even today, though only one of its forty-eight stately columns is standing, the headland is called Capo Colonna. The splendid temple, which was one of the great national centres of Magna Graecia and whose glories lasted into Roman times, is supposed to have been founded about 600 B.C., but there are traditions of a much earlier worship of Juno here. In his comment on *diva Lacinia,* 552, Servius suggests two explanations of the origin of the epithet. According to one, as it is amplified by the Daniel-Servius, the adjective was derived from the name of a king Lacinius. Having successfully refused hospitality to Hercules as the demigod was returning from his conquest of Geryon, this king founded a temple in honor of Juno, whose enmity was the cause of the labors of Hercules. The Daniel-

---

eign influence and to point to "foreign trade between Southern Apulia and the eastern Mediterranean at some date between 1000 and 700 B.C." (see *Iron Age,* 240). In general, he is very skeptical concerning the presence of Mycenaean objects on the mainland of Italy (see *Iron Age,* 212, *et passim*).

[23] Philipp, Pauly-Wissowa, 12 (1924), 345–346, s.v. Lacinium Promontorium.

Servius adds still another explanation, according to which the epithet was derived from the Promontorium Lacinium which Thetis had bestowed as a gift upon Juno and on which, before the Trojan War, a temple had been built from the contributions of kings and peoples.[24]

Orsi's excavation[25] of the site of the historic temple, in 1910, though fruitful, was, in fact, only preliminary in character. We have, so far at least, no traces of a prehistoric shrine; but that the traditions have some basis in reality is not a fantastic assumption, now that we have evidences of a prehistoric settlement[26] in the vicinity of nearby Cotrone. The identity of the goddess of the shrine is a matter of conjecture. Lenormant[27] believed that she was the great goddess of Oenotria, whose symbol was the cow, so that it was easy to transform this native divinity into *βοῶπις Ἥρα*, who was herself, indeed, the Hellenic successor of an ancient Pelasgian goddess with the form or, at least, the head, of a cow. The word Lacinia was said by Greek lexicographers to come from *lakis,* an old Pelasgic word meaning 'earth.' The telluric character of Juno Lacinia was always marked; her head on certain coins of Croton has some traits which are typical of telluric god-

[24] It is supposed to have been one of those early shrines in which Aeneas deposited a bronze vessel inscribed with his name (Dionysius 1, 51, end).

[25] *Notizie,* Supplement, 1911, 77–124.

[26] More than twenty graves of neolithic character have been uncovered at Scandale, six kilometres from Cotrone (von Duhn, 1, 53).

[27] $2^2$ (1881), 221–223 (cf. n. 14). Interesting in this connection is a suggestion of Randall-MacIver (*Italy,* 111) that the use of the ox in the decoration of native Picene pottery and in the ornaments of the women may indicate "an old Italian cult of some god of cattle."

desses, such traits as the long, dishevelled hair flowing over the shoulders, and the floral adornment of the head.

The two remaining places in Southern Italy which Aeneas here mentions (553) come in reverse order, perhaps because Scylaceum in its deep bay would not appear to the mariner so soon as would Caulon (also called Caulonia) on its high promontory. Of the latter, little is known save that Strabo (6, 1, 10) speaks of its being founded by Achaeans, and Solinus (2, 10) of its being a daughter of Croton, while Pliny the Elder (3, 95) refers to the *vestigia oppidi Caulonis* as worthy of mention. The modern Castelvetere is officially known as Caulonia, but is three or four miles farther from the sea than was the ancient town.[28]

Of *navifragum Scylaceum* Nissen says [29] that the bay on which it is situated still has a bad name among seamen, while Servius writes (on 3, 553): Dictum Scyllaceum aut a tractu, vel a periculi similitudine: nam inde Scylla longe est. The Daniel-Servius then adds two traditions of its founding: *Alii dicunt Ulixen post naufragium in Italia de navium fragmentis civitatem sibi fecisse, quam 'navifragum Scyllaceum' nominavit. Alii ab Atheniensibus, qui cum Mnestheo duce venerant et a Libya redierant, conditum tradunt.*[30]

The Greek name of the town was Σκυλλήτιον.

[28] H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde,* Volume 2, Part 2 (1902), 950.

[29] 2, Part 2, 947 (cf. n. 28). For an interesting account of the town, from Greek to modern times, see Lenormant, 2,[2] 329–447 (cf. n. 14). A brief account, much more recent, is given by Philipp, Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite Reihe (1921), 2, 920–923, s.v. Scylletium.

[30] The Athenian origin of the town is attested also by Strabo (6, 1, 10) and Solinus (2, 10).

The Roman colony, called Scolacium or Scylaceum, dated from Gracchan times; it retained considerable importance throughout the Empire. It was not on the site of the Greek town, but on another hill opposite; it is the modern Squillace. Scylaceum was the home of the rich family of the Aurelii, whose most distinguished member was the talented Cassiodorus (Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus), minister of the Emperor Theodoric. When, worn with the heavy responsibilities which he had borne for half a century, Cassiodorus found himself living on under monarchs whose policy was no longer acceptable to him, he retired to a religious life and built on his family estates the splendid Monasterium Vivariense. This retreat lay on the north side of the hill which had been the site of the Greek town. Here Cassiodorus composed most of his works, laboring on for more than a generation, past the age of one hundred years. Of the pre-Hellenic life in the region of Squillace we have abundant evidence in the rather widely diffused traces of a culture resembling that of prehistoric Locri.[31]

## 2. Cumae

It has been customary to regard the Cumae of Vergil's Aeneid as one of his most striking anachronisms, on the ground that even the oldest of Greek colonies in the West [32] could not yet have come into existence when Aeneas and his followers arrived in Italy. In only one of the ancient allusions to the settlement is the date of its founding given; Euse-

[31] For a résumé of the remains at Crichi, Settingiano, Catanzaro, Squillace, etc., see von Duhn, 1, 66.

[32] This proud repute Cumae has borne from ancient times, as appears in the numerous passages cited in this section. Cf. especially Strabo 5, 4, 4.

bius [33] puts it in the 968th year of Abraham, i.e., about the middle of the eleventh century B.C. It used to be argued that the difficulties of sea-transport rendered absurd the claim of so early a date for any migration into the far West, but, now that archaeological research has disclosed the amazing penetration of Cretan influence in the Mediterranean basin, especially in the latter half of the second millennium B.C., this argument *per se* carries no great weight.

Before we consider in detail the date of the founding of Cumae, let us look for a moment at a closely related matter, which is also a subject of dispute, the question of the identity of the mother-city.

Vergil is following an all but unanimous tradition when he refers (6, 2) to the Euboean connections of Cumae, and is at one with Thucydides (6, 4, 5), Livy (8, 22, 5–6), Velleius Paterculus (1, 4, 1), and Pliny the Elder (3, 61) in suggesting Chalcis as the particular Euboean city from which the colonists had set out. Strabo says (5, 4, 4) that the expedition was led by two men, Cumaean Hippocles and Chalcidian Megasthenes, who made an agreement that their new city should be a colony of Chalcis and a namesake of Κύμη. Authorities differ as to whether the latter was Κύμη in eastern Euboea, or Κύμη in Asiatic Aeolis. The more general opinion is that the Euboean town is meant,[34] because the phratries of Neapolis,

[33] *Chronicorum Libri II*, page 61 (Schoene, Berlin, 1866): *Mycena in Italia condita vel Cumae.* The edition of Fotheringham (1922) reads *Mycena in Italia condita.* The editor adds, " vel cumae add. SA; vel comae BD; quae nunc comae T." Apparently, OMFLXC have nothing after *condita.* O is a very early manuscript, of the fifth century; S is of the fifth or the sixth century. The account of Velleius Paterculus (1, 4) also implies a very early date, the time of the settlement of the west coast of Asia.

[34] There seems to be almost nothing known of Κύμη in Euboea. It is mentioned only once in antiquity (Stephanus of Byzantium,

a colony of Campanian Cumae, bore names which are, so far as they are known,[35] associated with places in Euboea and on the neighboring Boeotian coast.[36] We know that the Euboeans were pioneers among the Greeks in making foreign settlements, and that Chal-

---

s.v. Κύμη), but its situation was probably that of the modern Kumi, on the east coast of Central Euboea. F. Geyer (*Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia,* in *Sieglins Quellen und Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie,* 1903) thinks it disappeared very early. The possibility that the Asiatic Κύμη is referred to is suggested by only one passage from antiquity, a fragment of Ephoros, preserved by Skymnos of Chios: μετὰ δὲ Λατίνους ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς πόλις τῆς λεγομένης λίμνης Ἀόρνου πλησίον Κύμη, πρότερον ἣν Χαλκιδεῖς ἀπῴκισαν, εἶτ' Αἰολεῖς (Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker,* II A [1926], 82, Fragment 134 b). This claim is generally thought to be due to the local pride of Ephoros, whose native place was Κύμη in Asiatic Aeolis. R. S. Conway and S. Casson are among those who hold (*C.A.H.* 4 [1926], 389) that Aeolic, not Euboean, Κύμη is meant by Strabo, but they add that the question is of slight importance, " since in any case the Cyme of Aeolis would be in touch with the community which shared its name in Euboea (being presumably its parent town); and Aeolian colonists would also be interested in the adventures of the Phocaeans who must have been familiar with Western waters long before they founded Massilia at the end of the seventh century." J. L. Myres (*C.A.H.* 3, 676) thinks that the early date given by Eusebius for the founding of Campanian Cumae is more probably that of Asiatic Κύμη, as M. Duncker had originally suggested (*Geschichte des Altertums* 5,[3] 485, n.).

[35] Julius Beloch (*Campanien*[2] [1890] 41, 148) gives the names of nine phratries which are known to us from Neapolis. Of these names six are derived from names of places in Euboea and Boeotia; the other three are very possibly of the same origin. Probably there were three more phratries whose names we do not know. Bilabel (*Die Ionische Kolonisation,* in *Philologus, Supplementband* 14 [1921], 230, notes 1, 2) says that these names of phratries in Neapolis are the result of the fact that, after the fall of Cumae, the survivors were received by the daughter-city (Dionysius 15, 6).

[36] This, in Beloch's opinion (*Campanien,* 148: cf. n. 35), explains the slight traces of Aeolic influence at Cumae, which probably encouraged Ephoros to claim for it an Aeolic origin. Cf. Geyer, 81 (cf. n. 34).

cis and Eretria, rival cities on opposite edges of the Lelantine Plain, were chief in this sort of enterprise; Chalcis took the lead in the Western Mediterranean and associated with her own emigrants those from Eretria and other towns. This cooperative feature of Euboean colonization would easily lead to varying traditions regarding mother-cities, and may account for the version of Dionysius (7, 3), to the effect that Eretrians and Chalcidians founded Cumae.[37]

Returning now to the question of the antiquity of the Campanian settlement, we find Vergil assigning the origin of the Temple of Apollo to the gratitude of Daedalus for his escape from the realms of Minos (6, 14–19),[38] that is, the poet here brings to our attention what he frankly calls a 'tradition' (*ut fama est;* cf. Servius *ad loc.*) of Cretan connections with the West,[39] though in verses 2 and 17 he also recognizes the later work of Euboean colonists. That Vergil had some conception of a very ancient and splendid civilization in Crete is plain from the verses in which Anchises describes the island (3, 104–113):

[37] Cf. J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 3, 650.

[38] Minos is dated as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., and as late as the second half of the thirteenth century B.C. Cf. *C.A.H.* 2 (1924), 441 (A. J. B. Wace), 475–476 (J. B. Bury). As Norden points out (*P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis, Buch VI*[2] [1916], 120), the legendary connection of Daedalus with Euboean Chalcis makes this flight to Cumae seem natural.

[39] For a summary of ancient traditions of Cretan settlements in Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia see Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), 1, 360–361. It will be noticed that Daedalus and Minos figure prominently in these accounts. Cf. J. B. Bury, *C.A.H.* 2, 475–476. Many have explained the Daedalus legend as a natural consequence of the peculiar formation of the country about Cumae, so honeycombed with underground passages; but these passages are artificial.

Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,
mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna,
maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras,
optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium et arces
Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera
Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris,
et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.

The passage becomes much more than a mere echo of Homer's expression Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν (*Iliad* 2, 649) as the old man expands the conception of Crete, 'the ancient mother' (95), into the island of great Jupiter, the cradle of the Trojan race, the homeland of their *maximus pater,* Teucer, and the source of their worship of a great Mother Goddess. Such worship does indeed seem to have been the chief Minoan cult, but we have no proof that the Minoan goddess was identical with the Great Mother of Asia Minor.[40]

Servius, in his comment on 6, 14, relates at length the story of Pasiphae and the Minotaur, of Daedalus and his enforced flight from Crete, and then adds: Daedalus vero primo Sardiniam, ut dicit Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas, et templo Apollini condito *sacratisque ei alis* in foribus haec universa depinxit. Interesting in this connection is the account given by Diodorus Siculus (5, 15), a contemporary of Vergil, to the effect that, in the time of the Labors of Hercules, Sardinia had been occupied by Iolaus and the Thes-

[40] See W. R. Halliday, *C.A.H.* 2 (1924), 613–614; Karo, Pauly-Wissowa, 11 (1922), 1791–1792, s.v. Kreta; Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos,* 1 (1921), 6; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (1927), 187–188, 334–338, 438, *et passim.*

piads, who, after founding numerous cities, were driven out of Sardinia into Italy, and settled in the territory around Cumae. It should also be noted that Livy, in the passage already mentioned (8, 22, 5–6), says that the Chalcidians settled on the mainland at Cumae only after they had first disembarked on the nearby islands of Aenaria and Pithecusae. This preliminary occupation of islands athwart their course would be quite in harmony with the usual procedure of foreign settlers. It is difficult to believe that the most western outpost of Greek civilization in Italy was established on the mainland at once, without the use of island stepping-stones along the way; [41] the rich volcanic soil and the deposits of gold and copper on the islands off Cumae would naturally attract early settlers.

To sum up, then, there is abundant literary evidence, not only for the founding of Cumae by the Euboeans, but also for an earlier coming of Greek and Aegean influence to the regions of the Campanian coast.

To what extent are these literary traditions borne out by the results of archaeological discovery?

At the outset, we must concede that, so far at least, there have come to light no evidences of a westward penetration of Cretan influence that was in any degree comparable to the luxuriant flowering of that culture in every other direction; but that Aegean traders did venture as far west as Southern Italy and Sicily as early as the neolithic period [42] is plainly suggested by the pottery of those regions, which is much

[41] Beloch, *Campanien,* 148 (cf. n. 35); Bilabel, 229 (cf. n. 35); J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 3, 676–677.

[42] Their wares were borne even as far north as Liguria, though perhaps not by Aegean ships, but by native boats employed in carrying obsidian up the west coast of Italy. See Peet, 280–284.

more advanced in technique and more varied in type than the pottery of Northern Italy for the same period (it even includes a considerable variety of painted ware, a high development of which is characteristic of the neolithic period in Crete and the Aegean).[43] Furthermore, a constantly increasing interplay of influences, as time went on, between the eastern and the western portions of the Mediterranean basin must be the explanation of such phenomena as the liparite objects in the Palace of Knossos, the finely wrought bone objects in graves of eastern Sicily (suggesting a similar object from the second city of Hissarlik), and the early tombs in the same section of the island with their Minoan form, Minoan vases and weapons, and their beads of glass paste.[44] Just how much these influences made themselves felt on the mainland of Italy it is now impossible to say, both because of the relatively small extent of the excavations so far prosecuted in Southern Italy (see above, page 3), and because of the cultural changes produced in the peninsula by migrations at the end of the Bronze Age. The possible examples of Mycenaean products which have so far been uncovered in Italy are limited in number and are mainly associated with a few Apulian and Calabrian sites (cf. n. 22). Of these, the outstanding instance is Punta del Tonno at Taranto, the topmost of whose three prehistoric layers contained, in Peet's opinion (see above, page 9), both Mycenaean and proto-Corinthian pottery. Though evidences of sea-trade up the west coast of Italy are increasingly frequent from the ninth century on, especially as the Etruscan power

[43] Peet, 284, *C.A.H.* 2, 565–566.

[44] Peet, 286, *C.A.H.* 2, 567, 570; J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* 1, 97, 105–106, and 3, 670; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, 149–150.

there develops, Aegean ' finds ' of an earlier date than this are rare and sporadic, and commerce with the Danubian region seems to Randall-MacIver [45] a more likely source for some of the Aegean and Trojan objects found in upper western Italy.

The latest commentaries on Aeneid VI are singularly silent concerning the archaeological evidence for the date and the character of the earliest settlement at Cumae. Jahn's [46] brief notes make no reference to the matter. This is also true of the second edition (1915) of Norden's monumental study of the Katabasis. As late as 1920 H. E. Butler [47] refers to the marked anachronism implied in the Trojan visit to Cumae, the colonization of which he places at " about 700 B.C. "; yet he knew Gabrici's discussion [48] of the archaeological evidence, on the basis of which conservative scholars have in recent years been placing the Chalcidian settlement well back in the eighth century B.C.,[49] while Gabrici and Weiss [50] have pushed it still farther back, towards the end of the ninth century B.C.

For determining the relative merits of these claims there is ready to our hand the above-mentioned work of Gabrici, an exhaustive summary and discussion of the literature of the excavations up to 1913, which

[45] *Italy,* 39.

[46] Aeneid I–VI (1912), thirteenth edition of the commentary of Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke, revised by P. Jahn.

[47] *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid* (1920), 79.

[48] *M.A.* 22 (1913–1914).

[49] *C.A.H.* 4 (1926), 389 (R. S. Conway); 3 (1925), 619, " far back into the eighth century " (M. Cary); 3, 535, " *c.* 750 B.C." (Wade-Gery). Geyer, 81, 39 (cf. n. 34), comes close to Butler's estimate, putting the founding of the town in the last third of the eighth century.

[50] Pauly-Wissowa, 11 (1922), 2476, s.v. Kyme; Gabrici, *M.A.* 22, 212, 364–365, 426.

is, in turn, supplemented, for the pre-Hellenic period, by certain pages (533–547) in von Duhn's encyclopaedic volume of 1924, *Italische Gräberkunde*.

It was only in the late nineties of the last century that scholars began to suspect that, much earlier than the establishment of the Greek colony, there had been a very considerable indigenous settlement on the acropolis of historic Cumae. It is, apparently, to the keen insight of Patroni [51] that we owe the original suggestion of this idea, which was at first rejected by such distinguished scholars as Pellegrini and Karo: but the excavations which were prosecuted in the opening years of the present century have confirmed beyond cavil the judgment of Patroni.

On the acropolis itself are traces of the pre-Hellenic town, whose pottery corresponds to that found in the oldest of the early burials that lie east and north of the hill. In these graves, the body seems to have been placed in a wooden coffin, which was deposited in a deep right-angled trench, walled around with irregular stones and covered with a layer of light pumice stone. The placing of the graves indicates no regard for the walls of that Greek city which later extended below the acropolis; indeed, not a few of the graves lie within those walls. The men's tombs contain very little iron, and the bronze articles — 'razors' (mostly rectangular), swords (all short and some partly of iron), lance-heads (the lance was the commonest weapon), and axes (especially common in the earliest graves) — are mainly of Italic types, characteristic of the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Striking is the very large number of *fibulae* in the graves of the women: the commonest type shows affinities with the *fibulae* of central Italy and

[51] *Notizie*, 1896, 531–532; *B.P.I.* 25 (1899), 183–199.

Sicily, the Sicilian groups being of the sub-Mycenaean geometric period.[52] The pottery in the earliest of these tombs shows no sign of Greek influence. It is of crude material, blackish or brown, all hand-made, fired in the open, often ill-shaped, having little variety of form and only primitive styles of decoration. Its connections are, at first, with the pottery of the inland regions to the centre and the south of Italy, then with the Alban and primitive Latin forms, important indications, as von Duhn points out (546–547), of the kinship of these pre-Hellenic Cumaeans with the Umbro-Sabellians in the east and the north-east and of their increasingly close relations with the cremating people of west-central Italy. The date which Gabrici[53] assigns to the first manifestations of this pre-Hellenic settlement is towards the end of the eleventh century B.C., an extreme judgment which scholars seem increasingly unwilling to accept.

Owing to its situation on the coast, this pre-Hellenic Cumae gradually began to lose its exclusively indigenous character and to show in its tombs traces of commercial contacts by sea, which must have been due to Mediterranean traders, who were perhaps cruising along the coasts of Tuscany, Sardinia, and the islands off Cumae in their quest for copper. In the later pre-Hellenic burials there appear such foreign objects as paste *scarabei*, a small image of faïence, gold disks, glass beads, and, particularly, three clay cups of genuine Greek technique.[54] These foreign objects indicate two commercial currents flow-

[52] See von Duhn, 1, 543.

[53] *M.A.* 22, 186, 440, etc. Gabrici's date for the pre-Hellenic settlement is, then, not far from that given by Eusebius for the founding of Cumae (see pages 13–14); he believes (442) that Eusebius confused the two settlements.

[54] Gabrici, *M.A.* 22, 78, 93, 114, 187, 211, 363–364, etc.

ing in upon the indigenous civilization of Cumae in its last phase, one Cypriot-Phoenician, the other Greek — in Gabrici's opinion, 'Chalcidian' (see, however, below, page 24, note 58, *sub finem*). Gabrici estimates that in the tenth and the ninth centuries the Cypriot-Phoenician current prevails, but towards the end of the ninth century the 'Chalcidian' becomes dominant. Here it is, then, that Gabrici would place the founding of Chalcidian Cumae. Whether it was accomplished by force or by 'peaceful penetration' cannot be absolutely determined on the evidence so far available.[55]

For a full century after the coming of the Greeks inhumation is the sole form of burial. The earliest Greek graves [56] are *fosse*, whose construction shows some marked variations from that of the indigenous graves; e.g., the pyramid of stones above the *fossa* suggests the conical covering of the chamber-tombs of Thera, a reminiscence of the Mycenaean *tholos*.[57] Remnants of the wooden coffins with their iron nails are found in some of the richer graves. Silver begins to be common. There are massive silver necklaces with scarab pendants, silver bracelets of Greek derivation, and even the barbaric *fibula* of the indigenous population is now found in silver. The headbands of silver and gold in some burials are manifestations of Greek influence. The pottery shows not

[55] Gabrici, *M.A.* 22, 365; von Duhn, 1, 539–540.

[56] Gabrici, *M.A.* 22, 366–372. V. Maraglino (*Cuma e gli Ultimi Scavi*, in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere, e Belle Arti* [Naples] 25 [1908], Parte II, 36–37) held that the first Greek tombs we know at Cumae do not go back to its founding, but that earlier tombs, nearer the city, were destroyed in antiquity. I do not know whether later work at Cumae confirms this opinion.

[57] Cf. Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, 169. On the origin of the *tholos*-tomb see A. J. B. Wace, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 25 (1921–1923), 393–396.

only late geometric and proto-Corinthian styles, but *lekythoi, oinochoai, aryballoi,* and *skyphoi* which seem to Gabrici to be of the earliest geometric style.[58]

The resemblance between the earliest pottery of the Greek settlements at Cumae and at Syracuse has often been cited as proof that they were founded at about the same time,[59] but Gabrici's study of the material seemed to him [60] to show a considerable priority in time for the Cumaean pottery, and, with all the other evidence, led him to accept a date for Chalcidian Cumae around the end of the ninth century B.C.

Admirable as is Gabrici's painstaking classification of the exceptionally confused remains from this site, his conclusions concerning the dates of both the indigenous and the Hellenic settlements have always been questioned. Recently Randall-MacIver [61] has an-

[58] K. F. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (1923), does not regard Gabrici's opinion as well-founded. He says (41 ff.) that the types may be ancient, but the examples in question are relatively late; some of Gabrici's examples he holds to be certainly late geometric. The upper limit in time for Greek geometric pottery has never been determined, but it is admitted that the finest type may go back as far as the tenth century B.C. (Wade-Gery, *C.A.H.* 2, 523). The great amount of so-called proto-Corinthian ware found in the Hellenic tombs at Cumae Gabrici has discussed at considerable length (*M.A.* 22, 309–362), with the purpose of confirming a thesis already advanced by other scholars, to the effect that this ware was really Chalcidian in origin, so that the abundance of it at Cumae would be entirely consistent with the traditional origin of the Campanian colony (cf. Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age,* 162; *Italy,* 130). Still more recent studies have led many scholars to substitute for the term proto-Corinthian the term Sicyonian. For the evidence on this subject see Johansen.

[59] The traditional date of the founding of Syracuse, 734 B.C., is now believed to be approximately correct.

[60] *M.A.* 22, 434–439. Johansen, 41, 181 (cf. n. 58) admits the priority of Cumae, but regards it as slighter than do most authorities.

[61] *Iron Age,* 160–177.

nounced the results of his fresh study of the Cumaean material. He finds that Gabrici's 'Chalcidian' geometric pottery has its close counterparts in Etruria, where it can be dated positively as appearing hardly earlier than 700 B.C. and continuing for half a century or more, while the splendid gold and bronze work from the Hellenic graves is like that of the Bernardini, Barberini, and Regolini-Galassi Tombs. Furthermore, the few samples of a more primitive geometric ware which were found in the Greek city come largely from one grave, and, while they do suggest a stylistic tradition of the ninth and the eighth centuries, it is, at the same time, a tradition which probably lived on into the seventh century, so that we have, as yet, in Randall-MacIver's judgment, no sound archaeological basis for dating the Greek colony of Cumae earlier than perhaps one generation before the seventh century B.C. From a study of the literary references the time has been supposed to be about 740 B.C.

Similarly, Randall-MacIver would reduce by something like two centuries Gabrici's date for the beginnings of the indigenous settlement. The varieties of bow-*fibulae* which once appeared to place certain of the pre-Hellenic graves at the dawn of the Iron Age are found to be associated with imported objects which certainly belong in the ninth century, and perhaps considerably later. Disc-*fibulae* (generally associated with the very early Iron Age) appear in six of the forty-two graves. One of the types is paralleled at Vetulonia in the ninth century, and, if we may judge from the associated material, the other types cannot be very different in period. None of these six graves contains material which would help to prove the persistence of these types in later times. Therefore, we must place the earliest of all these pre-

8339

Hellenic graves in the ninth century or, perhaps, somewhat earlier.

It is unnecessary to repeat here a description of what has long been known as the ' Cave of the Sibyl ' at Cumae, or to review the evidence [62] which shows that the shrine was in the hill which formed the acropolis of Cumae. How much Vergil's description was influenced by the condition of the place in his day can be better estimated when the excavations now in progress are complete. From Maiuri's excellent illustrated report [63] of the first campaign (July-December, 1925) one may learn what was then accomplished.

The excavations of those six months brought to light a considerable part of a great subterranean sanctuary, of proportions so imposing as to proclaim the religious importance of the place. From an opening on the southeast side of the acropolis, not far from the entrance to the old ' Cave of the Sibyl,' a corridor approximately thirty metres long, four metres wide, and five metres high leads into a lofty rectangular vestibule with vaulted ceiling. The vestibule is lighted from above by means of small passages, which run from near the base of the vault obliquely up and out to the surface of the hill. In one of the long sides of this vestibule are four niches, four and one-half metres high, probably intended for statues. The wall which bounds this side of the vestibule is not made of ordinary bricks, as one might think from the photograph, but of small tufa blocks cut from the native rock. This type of construction is used in the entrance corridor also. In some places, especially in the vaulted ceiling, the natural rock of the cave was

[62] Gabrici, *M.A.* 22, 9 ff.; Butler, 82–93 (cf. n. 47).

[63] *Notizie*, 1926, 85–93.

left exposed, with no covering either ancient or modern. This vestibule leads into what was probably the inmost part of the shrine, with recesses and with little openings running in many directions, but this very important chamber was not cleared out when Maiuri published his report. Nor had the work advanced sufficiently to show whether the stairway from the chamber, formerly known to visitors, actually does lead to the Temple of Apollo on the terrace above.

It is, naturally, impossible, at so early a stage in the excavations, to assign a positive date to this subterranean sanctuary, but certain structural peculiarities, notably the method of lighting the vestibule, suggest to Maiuri the methods of Agrippa's famous engineer, Cocceius, who, it will be remembered, used the same device in the Grotta della Pace, that great tunnel in the immediate neighborhood of Cumae, which runs through the hills for a thousand metres to Lake Avernus. Maiuri further conjectures that Augustus, in his zeal for rebuilding old shrines and by virtue of his special connections with Apollo, included in his programme not only the rehabilitation of an ancient sanctuary but its extension and adornment on a splendid scale. A probable date for this work is in the years following the Battle of Actium, when the government was free to turn from the construction of great works of defense in this region, such as the Portus Iulius, and when Vergil was probably at Naples, finishing the Georgics and beginning the Aeneid.

In the course of Cumae's varied history the old shrine has been a receptacle for all sorts of rubbish, from the ruins above, from the vineyards on the slopes of the hill, and from severe military attacks, particu-

larly in the sixth century A.D. under the Byzantine engineers of Narses. Now that tons of earth have been removed, we begin to see the frame-work, at least, of what Vergil's eyes must have beheld, for the work of the Augustan builders has marvellously withstood the test of long neglect and intermittent violence. The little passages which honeycomb the hill do suggest the hundred openings through which came the words of the Sibyl, but, in the main, Vergil's task was to banish from mind the evidences of Roman engineering and to reconstruct in imagination the shrine of a much earlier period. Consonant with this motive is the representation of Daedalus as founder and builder of the Temple of Apollo. The splendor of the golden roof and wonderfully wrought doors seems to us to fit badly into prehistoric Campania; but Daedalus was fresh from Crete, where he had built the labyrinth of Minos, the great temple-palace at Knossos.[64] Thus, Vergil claims for prehistoric Italy, rightly or wrongly, some connection with the Minoan civilization.

On the other hand, Vergil does not claim that the Greek colony of Cumae had been founded when the Trojans arrived there. Aeneas meets and converses with no one living there except the Sibyl, though he goes to the wood in search of the Golden Bough and to the shore, where he finds the body of Misenus. Furthermore, trees are felled for the funeral-pyre, and

[64] Evans, 1, 3–5 (cf. n. 40). It is not strange that Gabrici (*M.A.* 22, 50–57) thought of the constantly recurring double-axe in the Cretan building when he looked at the stone-cutters' implements sculptured on the under side of the entrance-arch of the old 'Cave of the Sibyl'—a double-axe with long handle, a stake or bar, a large hammer, a second axe with handle and four wedges. Beloch (see Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis, Buch* VI [1903], 133) seems to have regarded these articles as sacrificial implements.

elaborate ceremonies mark the burning of the body of Misenus and the burial of the ashes in a tomb on the promontory which still bears his name. To be sure, the ship of Aeneas glides up to the 'Euboean shores of Cumae' (6, 2), Daedalus alights on the 'Chalcidian *arx*' (6, 17), the cave of the 'Cumaean Sibyl' (6, 98) is hewn out of the 'Euboean rock' (6, 42); but these phrases are used only by the poet himself in his narrative and at a time when the epithets have become established and conventional.[65]

Vergil seems, then, in Book VI to have envisaged what was later the Greek Cumae as a rocky headland, crowned by a splendid temple, which was founded and built by a cunning worker in metals, whose adventurous spirit had carried him on the wings of the wind from his home on the Aegean to Crete and then on to Hesperia. In what better way could a poet have described the Bronze Age artisan and trader, constantly finding his way to more and more distant shores, as he plied the Mediterranean in a frail barque winged with sails?

### 3. Ardea

Only a few miles back from the sea-coast of Latium lies a little hamlet called Ardea, on the same rocky hill which was the site of the primitive town. This ancient acropolis is the extreme southwest point of a plateau which runs down from the Alban Hills

[65] Vergil uses 'Euboean' similarly in 9, 710. The one exception to the rule which I have stated is in 3, 441, where Helenus says to Aeneas, Huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem, etc. It might be urged that Helenus is here speaking as a priest of Apollo and under inspiration (3, 373–376), but I am inclined to believe that Vergil was here guilty of a slip, such as he would not have made had he been dealing with Cumae at greater length.

towards the sea. It is laterally fortified by nature, for gorges perhaps twenty metres deep have been cut on either side by two converging streams [66] which finally meet at the seaward end of the high plain. Probably the early settlers could not protect so large an area as was comprised in the entire tongue of land, for they isolated the extreme narrow point by a deep transverse cut through the plateau, thus securing an easily defensible area, hardly equal to half that of the Palatine Hill. Traces of the three gates [67] and some pieces of early walls can still be detected among the later constructions. The walls are made of well-cut quadrilateral blocks of local reddish tufa laid in 'header and stretcher fashion'; viewed from the town-side, the wall seems to incline inwards, since each row of blocks projects a few centimetres beyond the row below.

As the settlement increased in importance, its boundaries were twice extended landward to include more of the plateau, which had, we saw, originally been continuous with the acropolis. The outlines of these areas can be traced today from remains of the walls and of the great trenches and adjacent ramparts which each time formed the limit of the growing city. These extensions were not far apart chronologically; they belong, both of them, somewhere in the fourth to the third century B.C.,[68] when the city had already become a Roman colony. This was the period of Ardea's greatest prosperity, a period which Vergil was contrasting with that of his own day in the melancholy lines (7, 412–413):

[66] They are called Fosso dell'Acquabuona and Fosso della Mola (the latter is the outlet of Lake Nemi).

[67] The gate towards the sea was cut out of the native rock.

[68] Pasqui, *Notizie*, 1900, 60–61; von Duhn, 1, 519.

. . . nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen,
sed fortuna fuit. . . .

Richter [69] mistakenly believed all the fortifications of Ardea to be much more ancient than they really are: even the rampart at the rear of the first enlarged city was, in his opinion, pre-Servian.

The original settlement on the acropolis it is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible to date. Its cemetery was outside the walls, at first, probably, adjacent to them; later it extended over the surface of Civitavecchia, which was that portion of the plateau that lay just to the landward side of the acropolis, beyond the original cutting through the plain. This *sepulcretum* has not been adequately explored, but, in some trial excavations, there have been found simple *fossa*-tombs containing pottery of the type of the earliest Latian ceramic.[70] The tombs on the edge of the hill nearest the acropolis (presumably the oldest) had obviously been plundered, and were, of course, covered over by the new defenses when the settlement was first enlarged. Such an abandonment of the original necropolis would probably have occurred only when it was very old.[71]

[69] *Le Fortificazioni d'Ardea, A.I.* 56 (1884), 90–104, *passim.*

[70] Pasqui, *Notizie,* 1900, 54; von Duhn, 1, 520.

[71] On the north (northwest?) side of Civitavecchia, near the first transverse trench, there is a series of strange grottoes cut in the rock of the hill. It has generally been supposed that they were tombs belonging to the primitive settlement on the acropolis (cf. von Duhn, 1, 520), but Pasqui believes (*Notizie,* 1900, 64 ff.) that they were the rear parts of houses, to the fronts of which wooden lodges were added. This seems possible, if we may judge from the marks on the face of the rock above the grottoes. One of the grottoes, with its two chambers on different levels and the conduit leading from the lower chamber, looks as if it may have been a fuller's shop. In any case, these grottoes had been plundered before archaeologists could study them, so that we have no positive evi-

In a later cemetery, outside the limit of the city's greatest extension, fifteen graves have been carefully explored.[72] They are either *fossa*-graves or small *camera*-tombs, only large enough to receive one or two bodies. Since these tombs do not at all differ in their contents, it seems likely that the two types were due only to the soft, friable character of the soil, which made difficult the construction of a subterranean vault of any considerable size. If we may judge from our incomplete knowledge of the various periods in the city's history, Ardea was always inhabited by a predominantly inhuming people.[73] Only one instance of a cremation-burial has been discovered there; in a plundered *camera*-tomb of the later necropolis was found a small tufa receptacle covered by a thin slab and containing the ashes of one body. It is plain that a city of Ardea's area and historical interest deserves to be more extensively excavated. As von Duhn [74] points out, not only would further digging in the Civitavecchia section doubtless reveal more tombs of the early Rutulian period, but graves from the time of the city's first extension would probably be found in the region known as Campo del Fico, to the southeast of the acropolis, across the Fosso dell'Acquabuona.

---

dence as to their date or their purpose. In 1882 there was found near these plundered grottoes some very early Latian pottery which Pigorini believed to be domestic rather than funerary, but a vase with its decoration of cords and a vase-support he believed to have been paralleled, so far, only in tombs in the Province of Rome (see Fiorelli, *Notizie*, 1882, 275).

[72] Pasqui, *Notizie*, 1900, 56–59; von Duhn, 1, 519–520.

[73] We should expect to find this along the sea-coast of Latium (von Duhn, 1, 413, 458, 519). However, at least four cremation-graves have been found in the unpublished excavations at Anzio. See below, pages 89–90.

[74] 1, 520.

We have, then, no archaeological evidence to confirm either of the traditions of the Greek origin of Ardea. According to one of these [75] it was founded by Ardea, a son of Ulysses and Circe; it is the other and commoner tradition which Vergil follows when he assigns the work to Danae.[76] There is nothing improbable in the general tradition of early Greek influence at Ardea. A hill-town, located within sight of the sea, could hardly escape the trade-contacts of early times. Of Ardea's maritime connections, we get a hint in the tradition that her people were associated with the inhabitants of the island of Zacynthus in founding Saguntum in Spain (Livy 21, 7, 2; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 1, 293).

Also indicative of Greek influence is the cult of Argive Juno at Ardea (*Aen.* 7, 286, 419, 443; Pliny the Elder 35, 115). It is believed to be her temple [77] whose tufa foundations and a part of whose stylobate today underlie some modern buildings opposite the Cesarini Palace and opposite the fork in the road which leads up to the modern town on the seaward side. The feet of a terra cotta statue, a little more than life-size, and painted red (thus indicating a masculine figure), were found near the temple-site. They are a beautiful example of the plastic art of Etruria and Latium in the fifth to the fourth century B.C. Pasqui suggests this was perhaps the temple in which

[75] Xenagoras, quoted by Dionysius (1, 72); Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἀρδέα.

[76] This is also the version of Pliny the Elder (3, 56) and of Solinus (2, 5). Servius (on *Aen.* 7, 372) says that Danae, violated by Jupiter and cast out upon the sea by her angry father, Acrisius, was borne to Italy, where she was found by a fisherman with her infant son, Perseus, and was taken to King Pilumnus, who made her his wife and with her founded Ardea. For Pilumnus see *Aen.* 9. 4; 10, 76, 619; 12, 83.

[77] Pasqui, *Notizie*, 1900, 63–64.

were kept those paintings which excited the wonder of Pliny the Elder and which, he said (35, 17), were older than Rome itself. The site of this temple, at the central point of the primitive settlement and opposite the gate which looks towards the sea, would be in every way suitable for the shrine of the chief goddess of Danae's Argive home.

### 4. Diomede at Arpi

Not content with the splendid array of the Latin forces described at the close of Aeneid VII, the leaders of those forces attempt to enlist, in addition, the help of the Greek Diomede from Argyrippa (Arpi) in Apulia (8, 9–17). They choose as ambassador for this task Tiburtine Venulus, probably because Tibur was, according to the version followed by Vergil in the catalogue (7, 672), of Argive origin,[78] and Diomede, in spite of his Aetolian connections, had ruled in

[78] Cato is authority for another tradition (Solinus 2, 7) to the effect that Catillus, founder of Tibur, was *praefectus classis Euandri.* For a summary of the various traditions of the founding of Tibur see Ella Bourne, *A Study of Tibur, Historical, Literary and Epigraphical from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Roman Empire* (1916), a Johns Hopkins University Dissertation. The story of Tibur's Argive origin varies in different writers, but there was plainly in the days of the Empire a belief in the existence of the town in prehistoric times. Solinus (2, 8), quoting Sextius for its founding from Argos, adds: Catillus enim, Amphiarai filius, post prodigialem patris apud Thebas interitum, Oeclei avi iussu cum omni fetu ver sacrum missus tres liberos in Italia procreavit, Tiburtum Coram Catillum, qui depulsis ex oppido Siciliae veteribus Sicanis a nomine Tiburti fratris natu maximi urbem vocaverunt. Pliny the Elder, writing of the long life of the ilex tree, says (16, 237): Tiburtes quoque originem multo ante urbem Romam habent. Apud eos extant ilices tres etiam Tiburno conditore eorum vetustiores, apud quas inauguratus traditur. Fuisse autem eum tradunt filium Amphiarai, qui apud Thebas obierit una aetate ante Iliacum bellum. An *aetas* was much longer in heroic times than now.

Argos. By no more effective device could the poet have increased the prestige of Aeneas and his followers than by making Diomede refuse to the Latins the desired assistance, on the ground that he was persuaded by his own experience that the Trojans were invincible (11, 252–293). Not only had Diomede been the associate of the wily Odysseus in seizing the Palladium and capturing the white horses of Rhesus; he had also been one of the mightiest fighters at Troy. " For he stormed across the plain like unto a winter torrent at the full, that with its swift flood sweeps away the embankments; this the close-fenced embankments hold not back, neither do the walls of the fruitful vineyards stay its sudden coming when the rain of Zeus driveth it on; and before it in multitudes the fair works of men fall in ruin. Even in such wise before Tydeus' son were the thick battalions of the Trojans driven in rout, nor might they abide him for all they were so many." [79] He had so crippled Aeneas himself in single combat that Aeneas would have perished had not Aphrodite flung her white arm about him, and, covering him with a fold of her bright garment, borne him over the field. Even then Diomede pursued the fair goddess and so wounded her delicate hand that she cried aloud and let fall her son, so that Aeneas was saved only by the intervention of Phoebus Apollo, who covered him with a dark cloud (*Iliad* 5, 297–346).

Now, Diomede had been a ruling prince in Argos, one of the four great states of the Peloponnesus in the Heroic Age.[80] The older legends represent his return from Troy as safe and uneventful; but later legends, developing the *motif* of Aphrodite's wrath

[79] Homer, *Iliad* 5, 87–94 (Loeb Classical Library Translation).
[80] J. L. Bury, *C.A.H.* 2 (1924), 479.

at her wounding by Diomede, represent her as causing his wife to be unfaithful in his absence. So he sails away again, this time to the West, conquers the people of Mt. Garganus, and founds many cities in that region, among them Beneventum, Equus Tuticus, and Arpi. To Beneventum the Daniel-Servius (on *Aen.* 11, 246) adds Venusia, Canusium (cf. Horace, *Sermones* 1, 5, 92) and Venafrum, thus extending the sphere of Diomede's influence somewhat southward in Apulia and farther west in Samnium.

In one set of legends Diomede is always at odds with Daunus, a fact which Robert [81] interprets as symbolizing the conflicts of the Achaeans in Magna Graecia with the natives to the north. However, in another version Diomede, on arriving in Italy, finds King Daunus hard pressed by enemies, in return for assistance rendered to him receives a part of the king's territory, and sets up his own statue [82] as a memorial of victory, using for a base stones which he had brought away from the walls of Troy as ballast in his ship. Then, in honor of his home in Argos, he founds Ἄργος ἵππιον, whose name became, by an indefensible ancient etymology, Argyrippa, then Argyripa (for metrical reasons) and, by Strabo's day, Arpi. The whole region shows traces of Diomede; not far away lie *Diomedis Campi,* off the coast are the Islands of Diomede, while an unfinished canal, running through the marshes towards the sea, was reputed to have been begun by the hero (Strabo 6, 3, 9). Strabo says that the circumference of the walls showed Argyrippa to have been one of the largest Italiot

[81] In Preller, *Griechische Mythologie,*[4] II, 3, Abteilung 2 (1923), 1489–1490.

[82] For various interpretations of this act see C. von Holzinger, *Lykophron's Alexandra* (1895), in the note on verses 615–618.

cities; its dominion reached to the coast twenty miles away. In spite of all this tradition we have no proof that Arpi was really a Greek city.[83] It is generally regarded, rather, as an unusually marked case of the penetration of Greek trade, probably from Tarentum, acting upon a Messapian settlement with such power as to produce the impression of its foundation by Greeks. Long ago Mommsen [84] pointed out that the ready response of barbarous Apulia to Greek influence was a unique phenomenon in Italy.

There are also traditions of Diomede up at the head of the Adriatic, among the Eneti (Strabo 5, 1, 9), at the mouth of the Timavus (Strabo 5, 1, 8), and at Spina (Pliny the Elder 3, 120), along the southern coast of Italy in towns like Brundisium (Justinus 12, 2, 7), at Metapontum and Thurii,[85] and even in Latium, at Lanuvium, which, Appian (*Bella Civilia* 2, 3, 20) says, was reputed to be the first city founded by Diomede in Italy. Indeed, this hero was quite early brought into connection with the founding of Rome, for he sent to Latium Romus, son of Emathion, who built the city and named it for himself (Plutarch, *Romulus* 2: cf. Dionysius 1, 72, 6).

It will be observed that Diomede's Italian associations are largely with the eastern side of the peninsula. In Pais' [86] opinion they point to a connection

[83] The chief ground for doubting its Greek origin seems to lie in the fact that it does not appear in the list of colonies given by Skylax and Skymnus. Is this, perhaps, due to the fact that, in such voyages as these travellers made, only sea-ports would be mentioned? Arpi lay back from the sea a score of miles. Cf. Pais, *Ancient Italy*, 6.

[84] *Römische Geschichte*, in the English translation of the fifth edition, by W. P. Dickson (1883), 1, 576.

[85] Polemo Iliensis, Fragment 23, in C. Mueller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 3 (1883), 122.

[86] *Storia dell' Italia Antica*, 1, 313.

with Epirus that was centuries long. Farnell [87] conjectures that Diomede, originally an ancestral name in the traditions of the Thessalian-Achaeans, was brought to Aetolia and the Argolid before the Homeric epos was finished; that from Aetolia or from the Western Greeks, where his cult flourished, the Illyrians received him, and, already having a ritual of horse-sacrifice, perhaps contributed the legend of Diomede's association with horses.[88] The cult and the ritual, Farnell suggests, the Illyrians then passed on to their kinsmen the Veneti and, possibly, to Daunia, since Daunus was said to have come from Illyria (Festus, s. v. Daunia); and, finally, the Achaean colonists, coming to Magna Graecia, brought the Homeric hero-cult and the story of the white horses of Diomede, which gave a name to Argyrippa.

The worship of Diomede was early carried to Cyprus, perhaps by the Arcadians,[89] and, in that Oriental environment, was long marked by the ritual of human sacrifice.[90] The chief centre of the cult was, however, the region of the Adriatic. How early it arrived there we do not know. Farnell [91] is inclined to regard it and all the cults of the great heroes in Greek saga as post-Homeric, set adrift on the sea-routes of migration and colonization by the flood of epic poetry; but, as we saw above, he does not entirely rule out an earlier date. We have already seen to how remote an age human life has been traced back

[87] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (1921), 292–293.

[88] The episode of Rhesus and the white horses has generally been regarded as late. See, however, A. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* (1911), 214 ff.

[89] Bethe, Pauly-Wissowa, 5 (1905), 819, s.v. Diomedes.

[90] Bethe, *ibidem*, 820.

[91] 284 (cf. n. 87).

in the lower parts of the Italian peninsula and how probable is the existence in prehistoric days of trade-connections between the Balkan peninsula and eastern Italy.

### 5. Evander on the Palatine

More than doubtful, in the judgment of most scholars, are even the bare outlines of Vergil's charming story of Evander on the Palatine.[92] In Homer (*Iliad* 2, 603–614) we find the Arcadians an inland people, so lacking in experience of the sea that Agamemnon was obliged to furnish the sixty ships in which they sailed to Troy. Yet there must have been a period in which their borders reached the sea and they themselves were tempted away to strange lands, for there is unmistakable evidence of their early connections with various points on the coast of the Peloponnesus and of widespread Arcadian influence in distant Cyprus[93] at a time vaguely remote, but certainly not much later than 1000 B.C., while central Crete has revealed on the road from Knossos to Gortyna a city, Ἀρκάδες,[94] whose cemetery contains not only cremation-graves with geometric pottery and objects in the orien-

[92] The story is not original with Vergil (see, e.g., Pausanias 8, 43, 1–3; Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5, 21, 53). After describing the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus, Strabo says (5, 3, 2–3): "This, then, is the best accredited story of the founding of Rome. But there is another one, older and fabulous, in which we are told that Rome was an Arcadian colony and founded by Evander" (Loeb Classical Library Translation).

[93] *C.A.H.* 2 (1924), 18, 29 (P. Giles), 520, 536–537 (Wade-Gery), 546 (D. G. Hogarth); 3 (1925), 529–530 (Wade-Gery), 643 (J. L. Myres); Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte,* Volume 1, Part 1,[2] 88, 136–137.

[94] Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums,* Volume 2, Part 1[2] (1928), 237, n. 1. Cf. A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.* 44 (1924), 278.

talizing style but also three chamber-tombs which seem to reach back to the close of the Mycenaean period.

Though the Arcadians were not a colonizing people, in the usual sense of the term, Evander[95] was not the only individual among them to wander off into the West. The priestly family of the Iamides[96] from Stymphalus was long influential in the life of Sicily and Magna Graecia. We have a fifth-century tradition (Pindar, *Olympia* 6) to the effect that one of this family belonged to the expedition which founded Syracuse; Herodotus (5, 44–45) tells of another who was at Sybaris and Croton in the late sixth century, while Pausanias (4, 23, 5) speaks of a third, Mantiklos, who in the seventh century helped a group of Messenian refugees to found a temple to Herakles Mantiklos near Messina. There seem to have been connections between the Arcadians and the district of Rhegium-Messina from the seventh century to the first half of the fifth century, while Arcadian mercenaries must have done much to spread their native cults in the Greek cities of Sicily and Magna Graecia from the early fourth century, if not earlier.

It is, of course, a long period which separates even

[95] Dionysius (1, 31) states that Evander had only a few followers, who came in two fishing-boats. This would harmonize with the simplicity of his settlement on the Palatine and would explain his marriage with a native woman, the Sabine mother of young Pallas (Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 510). On the other hand, Cato would seem to have thought of Evander as having led a larger company of settlers, for he refers to Catillus, of Tibur, as *praefectus classis Euandri* (Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* 1 [1870], 67, Fragment 56). Cf. n. 78.

[96] See Hepding, Pauly-Wissowa, 9 (1916), 685–689, s.v. Iamos; J. Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Arcadisme Romain,* in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 38 (1920), 113–118; *C.A.H.* 3 (1925), 532 (Wade-Gery).

the earliest of the Iamides in the West from Evander, who came to Italy, tradition says (Dionysius 1, 31), about sixty years before the Trojan War,[97] but there is no such disparity of time between Evander's bold adventure and that which took the Arcadians over seas in the opposite direction to Cyprus. Indeed, there is no inherent impossibility in the legend of Evander on the Palatine,[98] though we have no archaeological proof of its historicity. Up to the present the tale lies almost wholly in the realm of tradition. In recent years Bayet has discussed it (see note 96) as one of several manifestations of the ' Pan-Arcadian ' theory of the origin of Rome, a theory which has been preserved for us by Dionysius (1, 9–64) and which seems to have been commonly accepted in the Augustan Age. In the closing lines of Chapter 60 in Book I Dionysius summarizes the elements which had entered into the making of the Roman stock before the founding of Rome: ' The peoples who came together and shared a common life, those from whom the Roman race had a beginning before the founding of the city which they now inhabit, are as follows: first, the Aborigines who drove out the Siculi from these places, in my opinion originally Greeks from the Peloponnesus; then, the Pelasgians, from the region which was at that time called Haemonia but

[97] The Arcadians were reputed to be long-lived. Evander's mother met a violent death at the age of one hundred. Some Arcadians lived to be three hundred years old, according to the Daniel-Servius (on *Aen.* 8, 51). Evander himself must have been in Italy some seventy-five or eighty years when Aeneas visited him. When he was just coming to manhood, he had seen Priam and Anchises in Arcadia on their way to visit Priam's sister, Hesione, in Salamis (*Aen.* 8, 157–168).

[98] Gruppe, 1 (1906), 203–204 (cf. n. 39); Escher, Pauly-Wissowa, 6 (1907), 839–842, s.v. Euandros; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 313, n. 1.

is now Thessaly; thirdly, those who accompanied Evander into Italy from the city of Pallantion; after these, from the Peloponnesians who were in the expedition of Hercules, the Epei and the Pheneatae with some Trojans; finally, those Trojans who had escaped with Aeneas from Ilium and Dardanum and other Trojan cities.'

One does not realize how marked is the Arcadian coloring of this whole passage until Bayet bids one recall the fact that Dionysius regarded the Pelasgians as ultimately of Arcadian origin (1, 11), that the Pheneatae in Hercules' band were Arcadians, and that there were numerous traditions of Aeneas in Arcadia on his way to Italy (1, 49).[99]

How and when did this 'Pan-Arcadian' theory of the origin of Rome come into being? Bayet[100] thinks it the work of Greek settlers in lower Italy. The mountain-peoples of Bruttium (Oenotria) had, in his opinion, quite independently and quite naturally, from the circumstances of their lives, developed shepherd-cults similar to those of Arcadia, notably the cult of the wolf-god. The Greeks of Southern Italy, coming into contact with this primitive people, seized upon their striking resemblances to Arcadians, and, gradually coordinating the mass of legends in which Aborigines, Pelasgians, and Oenotrians were hopelessly confused and intermingled, evolved the theory of an ultimate Arcadian origin for all those prehistoric peoples who followed the Siculi in Italy. This slow process of fusion seems to have been accomplished by the third century B.C.; it is precisely then that the legend of Evander on the Palatine first appears in literature, in a fragment of Fabius Pic-

[99] See, e.g., Gruppe, 1, 196 (cf. n. 39).
[100] 63–143 (cf. n. 96).

tor.[101] Not only was such a fusion of conflicting legends entirely in harmony with the Greek genius, but an immediate motive for attempting it seems to Bayet to lie in the fact that at the end of the fifth century B.C. the inhabitants of Magna Graecia were eager to establish political relations with the people in the north, especially with the Romans. As Bayet himself concedes,[102] his entire thesis is supported by no positive proof but by a sum of probabilities, resulting from the careful examination of many conflicting and overlapping traditions.

In 1906 Gruppe [103] had set forth, very tentatively, some suggestions of a possible historical basis for the tradition of Arcadian influence at Rome. Briefly summarized, Gruppe's conjecture is that from Tegea, in the time of her great prominence as the political and religious centre of Arcadia, a settlement was made in the far West, near the mouth of the Tiber. The tradition of a connection between the Palatine and Pallantion (a neighbor of Tegea), though it does not appear in literature before the third century B.C., must really have arisen much earlier, Gruppe argues, for, after the population of Pallantion was transferred to Megalopolis in 370 B.C., no one would have thought of claiming for Rome a connection with the abandoned city. To this Bayet [104] answers that quite possibly the Arcadian Pallantion was not in the original legend but may have come in later, since we find in Dionysius (1, 32) that Evander was associated not only with the Palatine but also with the Aventine, where his altar was still seen in the first century B.C.

[101] Peter, 10, Fragment $5^b$ (cf. n. 95).
[102] 141 (cf. n. 96).
[103] 1, 203–205 (cf. n. 39).
[104] 70–72 (cf. n. 96).

Significant for Gruppe, again, is the fact that the Tarquins, who were ruling at Rome in the period of Tegea's greatest prosperity, claimed that their mythical ancestor, Tarchon, was descended from Telephus, an Arcadian by birth, from whose daughter Rome took her name and who seems himself to have become identified with Latinus.[105] To this Bayet [106] replies that the associations of Telephus are more with Asia Minor than with Arcadia and that (he speaks, perhaps, more positively than the evidence warrants) the legend bears upon the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, not upon their Arcadian connections.

Gruppe is much impressed by the correspondence between the Roman and the Arcadian legends and cults which centre in Evander, Hercules, and Lupercus: he feels that parallels so striking could hardly have arisen independently, but that some sort of transfer must have taken place.

However, it seems to be fairly well established that the Hercules-worship came to Rome from the Greeks in the south of Italy, perhaps by way of Tusculum, Praeneste, Lanuvium, and, particularly, Tibur,[107] while Fowler [108] in 1922 noted with approval the main outlines of Deubner's theory of the Lupercalia. According to this theory the Greek features of the celebration (particularly the smearing of the foreheads of the runners with blood, which was then wiped off with milk, after which the runners were obliged to

[105] For detailed references on this whole paragraph see Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 5, 291–292 (1916–1924), s.v. Telephos.

[106] 75 (cf. n. 96).

[107] See, for full bibliography, J. G. Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome*, in *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, 4 (1910), and, in particular, G. Wissowa, *Religion* (1912), 272, W. Warde Fowler, *Aeneas*, 54.

[108] *Religious Experience*, 478–480.

laugh) were later accretions upon what had originally been a very simple and a thoroughly natural rite, the circumambulation of the Palatine, a shepherd-settlement, by *luperci,* men who were to keep the wolves away from the flock.

The favor bestowed upon the tradition of an Arcadian origin for Rome was not limited to the Augustan Age, if we may judge from allusions in Pliny the Elder (4, 20), Tacitus (*Annales* 11, 14), Solinus (1, 14), and from the fact that Antoninus Pius bestowed special privileges upon Pallantion because of its connection with Rome.[109] However, other explanations of the name Palatium had been given in Republican times and continued to be given by writers of the Empire. Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 5, 21, 53) had suggested other derivations besides that based on Evander's migration; one was *ex agro Reatino, qui appellatur Palatium,* another was from onomatopoetic *balare,* since Naevius called the place *Balatium.* Servius also (on *Aen.* 8, 51) mentions this last possibility, and Festus (276, de Ponor) puts first among his explanations this: quod ibi pecus pascens balare consueverit, vel quod palare, id est errare, ibi pecudes solerent. Among modern scholars, the connection of Palatium with Pales has been seriously discussed. Because the cult of Pales is certainly very ancient at Rome, the possibility of such a connection is most attractive. However, Walde finds it morphologically unsatisfactory and still accepts as probable Keller's suggestion of a derivation from *pālus* ('a stake') so that the hill is thus 'the place that is staked around (palisaded).'

As the evidence stands today, then, it affords little basis for the story of Evander on the Palatine; but, if

[109] Pausanias 8, 43.

there is one lesson above another which students of antiquity have been learning in the last quarter of a century, it is that a well-established tradition can never be summarily dismissed as mere invention, and that the kernel of truth which it contains is generally much larger than we used to suppose. In the light of this experience, many lovers of Aeneid VIII will perhaps still be loath to grant that Vergil, scholar and antiquarian that he was, had no foundation in fact for this Arcadian pioneer in the West.

## 6. Agylla (Caere)

To the origin of the Etruscan city Caere Vergil furnishes only two clues; in three passages of the Aeneid (7, 652; 8, 479; 12, 281) he uses its earlier name, Agylla, while in a fourth passage (8, 597–602) he records the tradition that Pelasgians consecrated to Silvanus the grove near Caere's cold stream,[110] where Aeneas received from his mother the splendid arms made for him by Vulcan.[111] The cult of Silvanus[112] was fairly wide-spread in Etruria, if we may judge from Latin inscriptions: that this Silvanus was the same as the Etruscan god Selvans[113] is possible, though by no means certain. Dennis[114] says that the

[110] Not the Minio, as Servius suggests (on *Aen.* 8, 597), for this is too far away to the north, but the Vaccina, a small stream within sight of the town, to the east.

[111] This grove of fir-trees (*abietes*), in Canina's opinion (*Cere Antica*, 52; cf. Dennis, 1 [1883], 273, notes 5, 7), gave to the hill its modern name, Monte Abatone.

[112] Taylor, *Local Cults*, 245, and Index, s.v. Silvanus. On page 121 Professor Taylor mentions an inscription (*C.I.L.* XI, 7602) of the year 39 B.C. (recording the erection of an altar, or altars, to Silvanus) which may very possibly have come from Caere.

[113] Fiesel, Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite Reihe, 2 (1923), 1324, s.v. Selvans.

[114] 1, 229, n. 5.

region of Caere was famed for its cattle in ancient times; he cites a passage in which Lycophron (*Alexandra* 1241) speaks of the glens of Agylla, abounding in flocks. A very early worship of Silvanus there is entirely credible: that Vergil assigns to it a Pelasgian origin is, however, puzzling.

To the Pelasgians the writers of the Empire generally attribute the founding of Agylla (Strabo 5, 2, 3; Pliny the Elder 3, 51; Solinus 2, 7); Dionysius is less explicit, for he includes Agylla in a list of Etruscan cities which were previously inhabited by Pelasgians, but which, he says (1, 20; cf. 3, 58), had, some of them, been built by Siculi and others by Pelasgians. He describes (1, 18–20) one Pelasgian settlement at the Spinetic mouth of the Po.[115] The wanderers, he says, had come up the Adriatic from Dodona in Epirus; attacked by barbarous neighbors some of these Pelasgians pressed inland from the Adriatic coast and cast themselves on the mercy of the Aborigines, with whose help they drove out the Siculi and took possession of Cortona and other towns, among them Agylla.[116] This expulsion of the Siculi is placed three generations before the Trojan War by Hellanicus Lesbius (a fifth-century chronicler), and eighty years before the war by Philistus of Syracuse, while Thucydides says it was the Opici who drove out the Siculi many years after that war (Dionysius 1, 22).

[115] Cf. page 37.

[116] Dionysius 1, 20, *sub finem*. Strabo (5, 2, 8), in describing a place called Regis Villa, lying between Cossa and Gravisci, says: "History tells us that this was once the palace of Maleos, the Pelasgian, who, it is said, although he held dominion in the places mentioned, along with the Pelasgi who helped him to colonise them, departed thence to Athens. And this is also the stock to which the people belong who have taken and now hold Agylla" (Loeb Classical Library Translation).

Servius says (on *Aen.* 8, 597) that the name of Agylla came from that of its founder. The latter was called Agella, according to the Daniel-Servius, who also adds (on 479): *Sane hanc Agyllam quidam a Pelasgo conditam dicunt, alii a Telegono, alii a Tyrrheno, Telephi filio.* Long ago Olshausen[117] contended that the name Agylla was not Pelasgic, as the ancients believed, but a Phoenician form, meaning 'the round (town),' a designation which would well describe the appearance of the settlement when it was viewed from the sea. He thought it very probable that Phoenician merchants, when they were so firmly established in Africa and Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean, would plant trading-posts in Italy; even Pyrgi, the port of Caere (see below, pages 75–76), might be of Phoenician origin, and the very name of Punicum,[118] a little to the north, suggested Phoenician foundation. In Campania and Southern Italy Olshausen detected evidence of similar settlements.[119] Though Mommsen accepted Olshausen's derivation of the name Agylla, this opinion seems not to be held now. Ridgeway[120] says that we have so few remains of the Phoeni-

[117] *R.M.* 8 (1853), 334 ff.

[118] Nissen, Volume 2, Part 1 (1902), 59 (cf. n. 28), thinks that *Punicum* was the name of an inn, with the pomegranate as a sign. He cites other examples of similar usage, and says that around such inns, situated on routes of travel, settlements sometimes grew up which were named from the inns.

[119] Cf. Gabrici's opinion of the earliest stream of prehistoric trade at Cumae (above, pages 22–23). In an interesting article, *Die Babylonische Herkunft von as, aes, raudus, uncia, libra,* in *Nomisma,* 5 (1910), 1–9, Ernst Assman has pointed out evidences of Phoenician settlements in the copper-mining regions of Temesa and of Ilva and Volaterrae. He believes that a network of Babylonian-Assyrian settlements in Italy points to a migration there towards the end of the second millennium B.C.

[120] *Early Age of Greece,* 1 (1901), 244, n. 1.

cian language that etymology is here a worthless guide.

How Vergil solved that old historical riddle of the origin and the nature of the Pelasgians [121] is by no means clear. Fowler [122] feels that Vergil, in speaking of Caere (8, 597–602), may be using the term for the Etruscans, a not uncommon interpretation of the name in connection with Italy.[123] On the other hand, he also suggests that the term may be used not in a racial sense at all, but rather in the Homeric sense (if we may accept Leaf's ingenious explanation [124]) of an invaded people as designated by the invaders. "Virgil may simply mean," continues Mr. Fowler, "that an invading people — Etruscans, perhaps — found a clearing here, made by primitive inhabitants, who had set up a festival to the half-wild deity Silvanus, one that always seems to haunt the borderland between woodland and cultivation."

Of these interesting suggestions the latter is particularly tempting, but so welcome a solution of the mystery seems questionable in view of Vergil's consistent use of the term *Pelasgi* in all the other passages in which it occurs. Seven times in the *Aeneid* [125] and once in the *Culex* (309) it is found; always, save in

[121] For various interpretations see *C.A.H.* 2 (1924), 8 (Giles), 476 (Bury), 612 (Halliday).

[122] *Aeneas* (1918), 98–99.

[123] Dionysius 1, 28: Ἑλλάνικος δ' ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς Τυρρηνούς φησι Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους, ἐπειδὴ κατῴκησαν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, νῦν παραλαβεῖν ἣν ἔχουσι προσηγορίαν. Cf. Busolt, 1,[2] 173–174 (cf. n. 7). However, Dionysius does not himself accept this view (1, 29). The Daniel-Servius (on 8, 600) cites Hyginus and Varro as holding to the Etruscan signification of the term, though Servius himself plainly thinks of the Pelasgians as Greeks (cf. page 50, n. 126).

[124] *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography* (1912), Chapter 7.

[125] 1, 624; 2, 83, 106, 152; 6, 503; 8, 600; 9, 154.

this passage about Caere (8, 597–602), it is used, plainly, in the sense of ' Greek.' This, too, is clearly the interpretation of Servius,[126] though the Daniel-Servius does add to the comment on *Aeneid* 8, 600 these words: *Hyginus dicit Pelasgos esse qui Tyrrheni sunt: hoc etiam Varro commemorat.* The general opinion of Vergil's contemporaries seems to be reflected by Strabo, who says (5, 2, 3) that the Pelasgian founders of Agylla came from Thessaly, and by Dionysius (1, 17), who states that the Pelasgian race originated in the Peloponnesus, but in the course of its migrations spent five generations in Thessaly. A Greek origin of Agylla would explain why her people turned to Evander for aid against the tyrant Mezentius (*Aen.* 8, 505–507); it is, further, interesting that the Pelasgians were especially associated with Arcadia (Strabo 5, 2, 4; Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 2, 83).

If now we seek for archaeological confirmation of the Pelasgian origin of Agylla, the evidence will be found to be negligible. Even when scholars still believed that differences between polygonal masonry and masonry in rectangular blocks were due to age, the walls of Caere did not suggest Pelasgian origin, for they are not polygonal, but rectangular, and are, furthermore, smaller than is common in rectangular masonry.[127] Again, the ' Pelasgic ' alphabet on the famous Galassi Vase [128] of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco is now believed to be Chalcidian Greek,[129]

[126] See Servius or the Daniel-Servius on 1, 624; 2, 83; 8, 600.

[127] Dennis, 1, 236, n. 7; 2, 259.

[128] Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* 1 [3] (1912), 375, No. 660. Dennis (1, 271 ff.), in calling the alphabet Pelasgic, was following Lepsius (*A.I.* 8 [1836], 186–199).

[129] Ridgeway, 1, 245–247 (cf. n. 120) thinks it possible that the alphabet in this Caere abecedarium may have come from Boeotia quite as easily as from Euboea; that since, according to

very early, to be sure, for writing in Italy, but not previous to the seventh century B.C.,[130] and, of course, not approaching in antiquity the period of Vergil's Pelasgians at Caere.

But, even if Greeks did not precede Etruscans here, the Etruscans were not the first inhabitants of the site of Caere. This is proved by cremation-burials which Mengarelli uncovered about 1912 in the Sorbo district, near the Regolini-Galassi Tomb. These excavations have not been fully published, but von Duhn [131] says that the unpretentious character of the burials suggests a connection with the simple graves of Pianello, Terni, and other settlements in the neighboring Tolfa hills, settlements which were probably made by an incursion of cremating Italici. He believes that many such early graves were destroyed to make room for Etruscan chamber-tombs. With other scholars he regards the ossuary which was found in the right-hand niche of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb as one of the last traces, in this region, of the early Italici, who, when they were not crowded out by the invading Etruscans, were made dependent upon them. Since the publication of von Duhn's work in 1924, Mengarelli has brought to light still other large necropolis-areas to the north and to the west of ancient Caere. The great importance of these results is evident from the brief account of them given by Professor A. W. Van Buren.[132] Along the ancient

---

Greek tradition, Cadmus brought the Phoenician characters to Boeotia, and since the Cadmean territory extended up to Thessaly, Thessaly may have received the Phoenician alphabet from Boeotia. Then the Pelasgians from Thessaly could have passed it on to Caere, according to the tradition.

[130] A. Minto, *Marsiliana*, 245.

[131] I, 340–342.

[132] *A.J.A.* 32 (1928), 394–396.

street which traverses the Banditaccia *sepulcretum* and back in the level areas on either side of this street have been explored many tombs of different types (chamber-tombs, cist-graves, sarcophagus-burials, *pozzetti, tumuli*), which represent a range of time from the seventh century B.C., or even earlier, to the Empire. In some of these tombs the funeral furniture is essentially Italiot, with some vases of the 'Italo-geometric' class and with only occasional examples of the earliest proto-Corinthian ware, while other burials belong clearly from the sixth to the second half of the fifth century B.C. Especially to the north of the city there have been found more recently many *fossa*-tombs with inhumed remains, a few *pozzetti* with ash-urns, and several chamber-tombs, dating from the Villanovan period to the days of Roman domination, but mainly from the period of the proto-Corinthian vases and the fine bucchero objects.

## CHAPTER II

# THE CITY OF LATINUS

It has been generally assumed by editors of the Aeneid that Laurentum was the name of the city where Latinus ruled as king, an assumption which was, doubtless, encouraged by the remarks of the scholiasts.[1] Such phrases as *Laurentia arva* (7, 661–662; 9, 99–100), *Laurentes agri* (12, 24 and 431–432), *Laurentes populi* (6, 891) easily betray the reader into accepting a town called Laurentum; yet nowhere in the Aeneid does the word Laurentum appear unmistakably as a noun and in only two passages does it, perhaps, seem to do so. In 8, 1 Turnus is represented as displaying the signal for war *Laurenti . . . ab arce,* words which the unwary might render by 'from the citadel of Laurentum'; again, in 8, 38 the *deus Tiberinus* addresses Aeneas as one who had been eagerly awaited *solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis.* But even in these two cases it is evident that the form *Laurenti* may be an adjective and that the phrases may mean 'from the Laurentian citadel' and 'on Laurentian soil.' That these are, indeed, the correct interpretations seems probable from the facts (a) that in the whole range of Latin literature [2] we have

[1] Wissowa, *Altlateinische Gemeindekulte, Hermes* 50 (1915), 25, n. 3.

[2] In his interesting book, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), a work with which all students of *Aeneid* VII–XII should be familiar and on which I have freely drawn in this chapter, Jérôme Carcopino discusses (220–224, 227–240) the passages in Greek writers (Dionysius, Strabo, Plutarch, Lydus) which have misled scholars into assuming the existence of a town called Laurentum.

no clear evidence for a primitive town called Laurentum; (b) that the apparent instances[3] of the mention of such a town are susceptible of other and better interpretations; and, finally (c), that on none of the half-dozen sites[4] which various well-known scholars have tried to identify as the hypothetical Laurentum has any archaeological evidence for such identification come to light.

If, then, no town called Laurentum can be found to serve as the political and religious centre of the Laurentian people, what was their capital? Both the literary and the epigraphical evidence point to ancient Lavinium,[5] which occupied the site of the modern Prattica di Mare, nineteen miles from Rome, on the *Via Laurentina*, sixteen miles from Ostia, three miles back from the coast, and only a few miles from Ardea.

[3] The Laurentum of the Itineraries was, probably, the Imperial villa, dating from the time of Augustus and comprising essentially the same territory as that which now belongs to the State and to the King of Italy (Castel Porziano, Trafusa, Trafusina, Capocotta, Castel Fusano, Campo Bufolare, etc.). As *the* villa *par excellence* among all the villas of the *Ager Laurens*, it probably came to be known as *Laurentum*. Cf. Carcopino, 246–265.

[4] Carcopino (172–181, 352–353) reviews the arguments concerning the five or six sites which have been suggested for Laurentum: (1) Tor S. Lorenzo (P. Kircher; Holstein); (2) Capocotta (Nibby; Pietro Rosa; Abeken; Forbiger); (3) Tor Paterno (Fabretti; Volpi; Heyne; Wagner; Gell; Desjardins; Tomassetti; Lanciani); (4) Trafusina dei Pichi (Bonstetten); (5) Castel Fusano (Dressel); (6) between Capocotta and Tor Paterno (Boissier). Cf. Philipp, Pauly-Wissowa 12 (1924), 1009, s.v. Lavinium.

[5] In 1887 Dessau announced this conclusion (*C.I.L.* XIV, pages 186–187). In 1919 Carcopino (171–387) called attention to Dessau's work, reviewed the whole subject in great detail, and presented in addition the evidence furnished by the Aeneid. Carcopino had reached his conclusions independently of Wissowa, whose article in *Hermes* (see note 1), with its pertinent discussion, on pages 24–31, came to the attention of Carcopino (VI–VII) only in the last months of the Great War.

While no remains of ancient buildings have been found at Prattica, we have a considerable number of significant inscriptions[6] from the Imperial period of the town. Especially useful for its identification as ancient Lavinium are the following: on a marble base, in letters of the age of Hadrian, perhaps, the words *Lavinia Latini filia* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 2067) and, again, on a similar marble of the same period, the words *Silvius Aeneas Aeneae et Laviniae filius* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 2068), while a third stone bears a mutilated inscription in choliambi, beginning *Numice Lavinas* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 2065).

In several of the inscriptions the dedicants or their associates are *Laurentes Lavinates* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 2072–2078). Some scholars believe that they represent a *collegium,* others think that they are citizens of the town, Lavinium. The latter belief finds some support in analogous designations of certain communities of the *Marsi,* the *Marsi Marruvini,* the *Marsi A(n)tinates,* and the *Marsi Anxates.*[7]

In one of the inscriptions found at Prattica the dedication is made by the *senatus populusque Laurens* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 2070). That this phrase means 'the senate and the people of Lavinium' seems fairly certain from a well-known passage in Livy (1, 14, 1–3) where the *Laurentes,* offended by insults to their *legati,* avenge themselves upon Titus Tatius by killing him at Lavinium, whither he had come to sacrifice. Livy says that Romulus did not punish the *Laurentes* for murdering his colleague, but closed the incident by a treaty, concluded between the cities of

[6] See Philipp, 1007 (n. 4). The epigraphical evidence is collected there.

[7] Wissowa, *Hermes* 50, 27 (cf. n. 1). Cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* IX, page 362.

Rome and Lavinium. This must mean that Livy regarded the *Laurentes* as the people of Lavinium. Because of such evidence it has become the conviction of scholars that *Laurens* and *Laurentinus* are adjectival designations of a *civitas* or territory only, whose capital city was, at least in historic times, Lavinium. Some few regard as possible an early town Laurentum which was absorbed or supplanted by Lavinium, the inhabitants becoming, in recognition of this amalgamation, *Laurentes Lavinates* [8] and the place itself *Laurolavinium;* [9] but of such a hypothetical Laurentum we have, so far at least, no actual trace. That the question of its existence may have been an open one in Vergil's day is, Carcopino [10] suggests, a possible explanation of the poet's apparent avoidance of any explicit name for the city of Latinus.

The noun Laurentum is found first in Latin literature in Cicero (*De Oratore* 2, 22), then in Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, and the Itineraries; but in these cases the reference is, for the Republican period, to a colony of villas at the northwest corner of the *Ager Laurens,* and then, for the early Empire, to the Imperial villa, Laurentum, in the same region, near Ostia.[11] The inhabitants of this latter community from the days of the early Empire were always officially called *Laurentes vico Augustano,* not *Laurentes Lavinates.*

But, if Lavinium already existed when Aeneas ar-

[8] Philipp, 1009 (cf. n. 4) compares *populus Romanus Quiritium.*

[9] Dessau (*C.I.L.* XIV, pages 186–187) thinks that Laurolavinium may have been a late name for Lavinium, given after *Laurentes Lavinates* had long been the designation of the inhabitants of Lavinium.

[10] 313–314.

[11] Wissowa, *Hermes* 50, 26–27 (cf. n. 1). Carcopino (246–265) discusses the Latin passages.

rived in Italy, how are we to explain the fact that Aeneas was to found a city and name it in honor of Lavinia? Carcopino[12] has adduced ample evidence to show that to the ancients the founding of a city did not necessarily involve the rearing of new walls on a new site, but that the process was often merely the reconsecration of a city already in existence, in other words that the founding of a city was a religious rite, in which material constructions played no essential part. The founding of Lavinium by Aeneas did not, according to this view, signify the beginning of Lavinium, but merely the beginning of a new era in its history.

Two passages in the Aeneid make this interpretation seem unnatural to some scholars. The first passage (1, 257–260) is from Jupiter's reply to the appeal of Venus in behalf of the shipwrecked Trojans. The goddess has just reminded Jupiter of how Antenor has established a city, Patavium, and is at peace there; to this the father of men and gods smilingly replies:

> Parce metu, Cytherea: manent immota tuorum
> fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
> moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
> magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.

Here, I think, we must admit that there is nothing to prevent the existence of the walls of Lavinium at the time when Jupiter is speaking; but more difficult is the reconciliation of the second passage (12, 193–194) with Carcopino's contention that Lavinium did exist before the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. In verses 183–193 Aeneas states what he will expect the relation of the Latins and the Trojans to be in

[12] 286–292.

case he shall be victorious over Turnus. Neither people, he says, is to be subject to the other, but the authority is to be shared by them; Latinus will be the political head of the new State and Aeneas its religious head. Then he adds (12, 193–194):

> mihi moenia Teucri
> constituent urbique dabit Lavinia nomen.

It may seem forced here to think of *moenia constituent* as not denoting the actual construction of the walls of Lavinium. Yet we know that sometimes the founding of a city involved merely adding a new part to one already in existence. That the ancients themselves believed that Lavinia's name was given by Aeneas to an existing city receives such support as the authority of Servius is able to confer, when he writes (on *Aen.* 1, 2) that Latinus' city had three names in the course of its history: (a) Lavinum, from Lavinus, brother of Latinus; (b) Laurentum, from the laurel found by Latinus when he was enlarging the city after his brother's death; (c) Lavinium, from Lavinia, wife of Aeneas: this last name, he adds, was given to the city after the arrival of Aeneas.

That Vergil himself located Latinus' city at Lavinium seems to be further indicated by the striking way in which the site of modern Prattica exactly fits into the topography of the latter half of the Aeneid. The ancient acropolis was on the hill which, rising less than three hundred feet (89 metres) above the flat coast-land, is to-day crowned by a palace of the Borghese family and a few simple peasant-dwellings. While he is yet some miles distant from the town, the approaching traveller sees against the sky the outline of the palace-tower and roof, and quite

involuntarily, as Carcopino says, recalls the lines (7, 170–171) in which Vergil describes the seat of Latinus:

Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici.

The wide surrounding plain, dotted with occasional hillocks and further broken by little screens of woodland, was admirably adapted to the purposes of the great cavalry-battle of Book XI.[13] From the ravine to the west of the town (Fosso di Prattica) the rapacious eagle may have caught up the luckless swan, that dire omen[14] by which the augur Tolumnius precipitated a treacherous renewal of the battle. The ill-smelling Zolforata, only an hour's walk from Prattica, was the sacred fount in the forest Albunea where Latinus sought counsel by night from the oracle of his ancestor Faunus.[15] The Selva Laurentina (in the Middle Ages still called the Selva d'Enea) was the home of Silvia's stag[16] and is in our day, also, a royal preserve, in which a king more widely ruling than Latinus hunts the wild boar and the antelope. The Temple of Pallas on the acropolis, to which Lavinia accompanied the procession of suppliant women,[17] fits well into the tradition that Lavinium boasted a Palladium brought from Troy (Strabo 6, 1, 14) and that Aeneas had deposited on the *arx* of Lavinium the deities of his native land (Dionysius 1,

[13] Carcopino, 350–356.

[14] *Aen.* 12, 244–256, 257–268; Carcopino, 345–346.

[15] *Aen.* 7, 81–101; Carcopino, 338–344. Cf. Probus on *Georgics* 1, 10: Ipse < = Faunus > autem receptus in Deorum numerum creditur. Itaque etiam oraculum eius in Albunea, Laurentinorum silva, est.

[16] *Aen.* 7, 483–495; Carcopino, 316–317, 259, n. 4.

[17] *Aen.* 11, 477–485; Carcopino, 366–367.

57).[18] Not content with the suggestions of commentators who find in the mad behavior of Amata and the Laurentian matrons nothing more than evidence of Vergil's familiarity with the *Bacchae* of Euripides, Carcopino [19] detects in local conditions the explanation of the perplexing figure of the Laurentian queen. For him she is a natural expression of the great prominence of the Liberalia at Lavinium. We may not be able to follow him in all the detailed applications of this theory, when he seeks to associate her with the cult of a primitive earth-goddess who combined certain features of Vesta, Pallas, and Libera, and when he finds in her name and garb suggestions of the first Vestal, and in her ignominious death by hanging traces of the rite by which the primitive Liber of Lavinium threw the knot over the neck of his human victim before the substitution of the *oscilla* of later times; nevertheless, his ingenious conjectures make this appeal, that they change a figure otherwise somewhat fantastic into one which is consistent with its environment, a result which we always feel to be consonant with Vergil's whole method and spirit.

The archaeological material found at Prattica is divided by Lanciani [20] into three groups, according to periods, the Archaic Period (that of the primitive necropolis), the Middle Period (in which is felt the influence of Etrusco-Campanian art), the Roman Imperial Period (rich in inscriptions and sculpture).

[18] Dessau (*C.I.L.* XIV, page 187) reminds us that at Lavinium consuls, praetors, dictators sacrificed to the Penates and to Vesta before they entered upon their magistracies or went off to their provinces. See Macrobius 3, 4, 11; Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 3, 12, and 2, 296.

[19] 363–386.

[20] *M.A.* 13 (1903), 164.

From the first period we have the contents of three *fossa*-graves,[21] two belonging to men and one to a woman, all being about half a kilometre to the west of the ancient acropolis. In the first man's grave, along with abundant fragments of local, hand-made pottery, were many bronze objects (a lance with *sauroter*, nine *fibulae* of different types, a bracelet, rings, a handle), but only one iron article (a *fibula* of the simple bow type). In the second man's grave were an iron lance-point with remnants of the wooden shaft and encircling bronze bands, a fragment of a bronze vessel, a piece of flint: of the local pottery two cups were found entire (one with the cord-ornamentation around the edge, the other with the *ansa bifora*). Of special interest in this grave was one piece of Greek pottery, a dish on a high, round standard, decorated with black stripes on a light ground. Between these two graves was found a vessel of blue smalto, its upper surface irregularly striped. In the woman's grave, along with some local pottery, a bronze *fibula* and bronze pendants, were two amber pendants and two Greek vessels, an *alabastron* and a little *lekythos*, both having brown and black stripes on a light ground. It is plain, then, that the evidence so far available does not confirm the tradition that Alba Longa was founded from Lavinium, for the content of these graves at Lavinium is later than that in the tombs of the Alban Hills. We must, however, remember that the number of graves studied at Prattica is only three, and that they are at some distance from the ancient settlement, which would normally indicate that they did not belong to the earliest *sepulcretum*. Significant in connection with the tradition that La-

[21] Helbig, *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1885, 82–85; von Duhn, 1, 520–521.

vinium was founded from overseas is the Greek material in these tombs of the early Iron Age.

In view of Vergil's remarkable topographical accuracy we are somewhat surprised to find his picture of the Laurentian civilization too highly colored, probably under the influence of Homeric traditions of the Heroic Age which have no justification in prehistoric Latium. The palace of Latinus stands, vast and imposing with its hundred lofty columns, in the highest part of the city, awesome with its surrounding wood and the reverence of generations long since gone (7, 170–191). The great hall is adorned with archaic statues of cedar-wood. The lord of this palace is not poor. From the three hundred sleek horses in his stables he gives to all the one hundred Trojan *oratores* swift animals richly caparisoned in ' purple,' with gold bits and bridles, while to Aeneas he sends a chariot, drawn by two splendid, fire-breathing steeds of miraculous origin (7, 274–283). The youths of the city practice exercises which suggest a system of military training (7, 162–165).[22] In the palace hang trophies of war, chariots, battle-axes, crested helmets, darts and shields, while beaks taken from hostile ships testify to the naval accomplishments of Latinus' people (7, 183–186). In discussing terms of peace with the Trojans Latinus suggests building for them twenty ships, or more, if the Trojans can man more;

[22] Augustus encouraged the organization of the aristocratic youths of the *municipia* into political-military guilds, which by means of physical and military exercises and with appropriate cults developed a trained and privileged group, capable of all sorts of public service. M. Della Corte believes (*Iuventus* [1924], 5–9) that even in the regal period there had existed such *collegia iuvenum,* which, at the impulse of Augustus, became so important, in the first centuries of the Empire. Has Vergil something of this sort in mind here?

the timber is already at the water's edge and the Latins can provide workmen, brass and other necessary materials (11, 326–329).[23] In spite of the evidences of maritime trade disclosed by the *fossa*-graves of Lavinium, so great a development of naval power as Vergil attributes to Latinus seems excessive. The picture is more plausible in those passages where wealth is measured by flocks and arable lands (7, 537–539) and where the morality of the Golden Age is made to linger on in these descendants of Saturn, whom their king proudly declares (7, 203–204) to be just under no compulsion of law but 'self-controlled of their own free will and by the custom of their ancient god.'

[23] Fairclough's translation (Loeb Classical Library) of *navalia* by "docks" seems less good for primitive Latium. Conington and Deuticke follow a suggestion of Servius in making *navalia* mean *armamenta* or *res navales*.

CHAPTER III

# THE CATALOGUE OF AENEID X

## A. Clusium and Cosa

With art more deliberate than that which the Homeric poet employed in Iliad II Vergil has separated by a considerable space the catalogues of his two opposing armies, using the great pageant of the Latin forces to form the splendid climax of Book VII. In Book VIII we hear of four hundred horsemen whom Evander contributes to Aeneas in his own name and in that of young Pallas (518–519); but it is not until Book X that we learn of the great bulk of the Trojan allies, thirty boat-loads, whom Aeneas himself conducts down the coast of southern Etruria to his besieged camp at the mouth of the Tiber (153–214). The aged Evander has previously explained (8, 470–513) by what a fortunate chance for Aeneas these troops were already assembled; how they had gathered under Tarchon to avenge the wrongs done the Caerites by the tyrant, Mezentius, and were impatiently awaiting the foreign leadership which the oracle declared to be necessary, a leadership the terms of which Aeneas seemed providentially sent to fulfill.

The student of prehistoric Italy takes up with eager anticipation the account of the composition of these forces, but a first reading of the catalogue will probably be disappointing, for, while the troops are naturally almost all Etruscan, they do not, in the main, come from the most notable and most ancient Etruscan settlements, so that one is, at first, puzzled to

know on what grounds an antiquarian poet could have selected these particular places.

Following the ' flagship ' of Aeneas, with its figurehead of Mt. Ida and the lions of the Magna Mater (protectress of Aeneas' fleet: 9, 80–122) comes the ship of Massicus (10, 166–169), bearing a bronze tiger as its sign; under Massicus are one thousand men from Clusium and Cosa,[1] equipped with bows and arrows. Why does the honor of the first place in the catalogue fall to Clusium and what is Clusium's connection with insignificant Cosa?

Clusium was not one of the earliest Etruscan settlements in Italy; those, we know, lay close to the Tyrrhenian coast (e.g., Vetulonia, Tarquinii, Caere). Yet it was a city which would stand out in the mind of any Roman, and its participation in the events of Vergil's epic would contribute some of that national coloring which the poet seldom neglects to utilize, for Clusium would not suggest to his readers merely the hostile city from which Lars Porsenna had come down to help the tyrant Tarquins regain their mastery of Rome. The earliest connection between Latium and Clusium of which we know was a friendly one; Clusium with four other towns sent help to the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus (Dionysius 3, 51). Again, more than a century later, it was, if we may believe tradition,[2] in helping Clusium repel the Gallic invasion that Rome herself became so tragically involved with the Celtic foe. When in the fourth and the early third centuries other Etruscan cities, even some-

[1] Though Vergil used the plural form, Cosae, the singular, Cosa, is the regular Latin form. See Bormann, *C.I.L.* XI, page 415.

[2] Diodorus 14, 113; Livy 5, 35, 4–5, 36; Dionysius 13, 11, 12; Plutarch, *Camillus* 17; Appian, *Celtica,* Chapter 2. But see R. A. L. Fell, *Etruria and Rome* (1924), 97–98.

times including Caere, were fighting Rome, Clusium seems not to have joined with them;[3] and, finally, she was among the Etruscan *socii* who in the Second Punic War contributed to Scipio's equipment (Livy 28, 45, 18). This tendency of Clusium to maintain connections with Latium rather than with the powerful cities of the Etruscan coast reminds us of an indubitable fact revealed by archaeological exploration, that in the *Ager Clusinus* there was always a predominance of the old Italic, cremating stock, which, though falling under the political sway of the Etruscans, nevertheless moulded Etruscan customs far more than it was moulded by them. In this territory all through the Etruscan period cremation is the predominating rite.[4]

Vergil's grouping of Clusium with Cosa seems to have been due to the practical necessity of furnishing ships to the men of the inland city, for Cosa's harbor[5] was and is well-known. It is, of course, possible that Vergil, like many modern scholars,[6] was misled by the imposing polygonal walls of Cosa and believed that they even antedated the coming of the Etruscans to Italy; but such an assumption is not confirmed by extant ancient literature, where the first historical mention of the town is of its foundation as a Roman colony in 273 B.C. However, little reliance can be placed upon the argument *ex silentio;* the attractiveness of the whole Tyrrhenian coast to early Mediterranean traders and, in particular, the remains found at Succosa (some of which go back to the sev-

[3] Taylor, *Local Cults,* 19–25, 176.

[4] See von Duhn, 1, 342–344; Louise A. Holland, *The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times,* in *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome,* 5 (1925), 136, 138, 149.

[5] Strabo 5, 2, 8; Livy 22, 11, 6, 30, 39, 1.

[6] See, e.g., Dennis, 2 (1883), 254–262.

enth and the sixth centuries B.C.)[7] warn us not to condemn unreservedly Vergil's inclusion of Cosa in this list of prehistoric towns.

Why the poet has assigned bows and arrows to this contingent we cannot be sure. Perhaps such equipment seemed to him most suitable for dwellers in the *Ager Clusinus,* who were more primitive in their culture than the inhabitants of coastal Etruria (cf. below, pages 153–154).

In his comment on Massicus, Servius (on *Aen.* 10, 166) speaks of Vergil's habit of giving to leaders the names of rivers or mountains; he cites as examples Almo, Aventinus, and Massicus, adding, nam Massicus mons est, unde et vinum Massicum dicitur. That the name of Mt. Massicus is, indeed, Etruscan one might have guessed from the fact of the Etruscan occupation of Campania. Such a conjecture finds support in Schulze's [8] derivation of Massicus from Etruscan *masni,* of which he finds traces in inscriptions from several Etruscan sites. Of special interest to us is such an inscription from the very region of Clusium itself.[9]

[7] Milani, *Notizie,* 1885, 241–248. Succosa is near Cosa, on the peninsula of Orbitello.

[8] *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904), 552, 189.

[9] *vel masni, C.I.E.* I, 1621, page 228. Cf. *Notizie,* 1885, 436. Some question regarding Massicus' command of the Clusini is raised by *Aen.* 10, 655, where the phantom of Aeneas, which had been luring Turnus on in the fight, suddenly retreats to a ship *qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris.* Servius suggests (*ad loc.*) that there was really only one leader from Clusium and that to him belonged both these names, Osinius and Massicus; the Daniel-Servius says that Osinius was king of one of the two cities (Clusium, Cosa), but served under Massicus. This latter suggestion is essentially the view of Heyne (*ad loc.*), who interprets *rex* as 'prince' or as *Lars Clusinorum.* R. Ritter (*De Varrone Vergilii in Narrandis Urbium Populorumque Italiae Originibus Auctore,* 99 [a dissertation published at Halle, in 1901]) suggests that the passage about Clusium

### B. Populonia and Ilva

The mention of Populonia (10, 172–178), linked with Ilva (modern Elba), was probably due to the military importance of their joint iron industry; it was at Populonia that Ilva's iron was mainly worked, perhaps after the fuel of Ilva had been exhausted (Strabo 5, 2, 6; Servius on *Aen.* 10, 174). Vergil may well have remembered that Populonia made a contribution of iron to Scipio's equipment in the Second Punic War (Livy 28, 45, 15). The excellent harbor which lay just below this splendid hill-site was doubtless a chief attraction to the Etruscan settlers when they took over from the Ligurians the domination of the Island of Ilva [10] with its inexhaustible supply of iron. For the antiquity of this Etruscan hill-town seems to have been less great than that of Vetulonia, to whose prosperity Populonia succeeded when the iron of Ilva began to displace in trade importance the copper of the Tuscan mainland.[11] Yet there is evidence of still earlier dwellers in the immediate vicinity of Populonia. Not only have occasional neolithic finds come to light, but just below the *burg*, on the flat coastland of the Gulf of Baratti, a few Italic cremation-burials have been uncovered, and near by some inhumation graves (*fosse*) of the period of those at Corneto and even earlier than those on the height of Vetulonia; but the material is, in von Duhn's [12] opinion, too scanty for us to determine just when and

---

is unfinished, since it is considerably shorter than the parts about the Ligurians and the Mantuans. The introduction into the epic of characters who have not appeared in a catalogue is not exceptional either in Homer or in Vergil (cf. the Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 10, 655).

[10] Philipp, Pauly-Wissowa, 9 (1916), 1091, s.v. Ilva.

[11] See von Duhn, 1, 282.

[12] 1, 284.

from what direction these early Etruscans came to the region of Populonia.

One might expect Vulcan, rather than Apollo, to be the tulelary deity whose image was set up on the stern of the ship of Abas,[13] leader of this iron-working contingent. Some coins of Populonia have been found which bear a head of Vulcan with hammer and tongs on the reverse,[14] but Perusia is the only Etruscan city for which Professor Taylor finds any evidence of the cult of Vulcan.[15]

Of course, the worship of the Greek god Apollo was widely distributed in Etruria. Its outstanding expression today is the splendid terra cotta Apollo of Veii (of the late sixth or the early fifth century B.C.) in the Villa Giulia at Rome. It may or may not be of significance that the beautiful bronze Apollo of the Louvre (generally thought to be Greek work of the fifth century B.C.) was found at Piombino, only a few miles from Populonia, to whose industrial life Piombino has fallen heir.[16]

## C. Pisae

The troops which are led by the diviner, Asilas, come from Pisae, an Etruscan city whose reputed ori-

[13] The name Abas is troublesome, for it is applied to Greeks, Trojans, and Etruscans. It appears four times in the *Aeneid:* 1, 121, of a companion of Aeneas (cf. *Iliad* 5, 148–151, where Trojan Abas is slain by Diomede); 3, 286, of a Greek whose shield is dedicated as a trophy at Actium, by Aeneas; 10, 170, of an Etruscan commander; 10, 427, of a warrior slain by Lausus. By many authorities the Abas of 10, 170 is identified with the Abas of 10, 427. For Trojan Abas, the Abantes of Euboea, and their Thracian connections see G. H. Macurdy, *Troy and Paeonia* (1925), 48, 72, 79, 81.

[14] Dennis, 2, 220.

[15] Taylor, *Local Cults,* 186. For the theory that Vulcan was originally brought from the Eastern Mediterranean regions by the Etruscans see Carcopino, 90–92.

[16] Milani, *Notizie,* 1908, 231.

gin from Pisa in Elis on the river Alpheus Vergil here (10, 179–180) goes out of his way to stress:

> . . . Alpheae ab origine Pisae,
> urbs Etrusca solo.

There have come down to us various traditions of the ancient origin of this city, e.g., that it was founded or occupied by Aborigines and Pelasgians (Dionysius 1, 20),[17] and that after the Trojan War it was settled by returning Greeks like Nestor (Strabo 5, 2, 5) or Epeius (Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 10, 179). Pais[18] argues with some plausibility for an early Greek settlement here, made by Phocaeans probably, and for commercial reasons; but no one has discovered any foundation for the theory of a settlement from the Greek city of Pisa other than the resemblance in the names of the two towns.

On the other hand, the tradition of a Ligurian origin of the city is probable.[19] How early the Etruscans took possession of the place is uncertain; perhaps they did so in the sixth or the fifth century B.C.[20] Though the culture of the region thenceforth remained Etruscan, Pisae itself seems to have fallen again into the hands of the Ligurians, perhaps in the third century B.C.,[21] and not to have been actually a part of Etruria until the time of Sulla.[22]

[17] Heyne (*Excursus I,* on *Aeneid* X) suggests that Vergil was influenced in his choice of cities by the tradition preserved by Dionysius (1, 20), which represents the Pelasgians on their arrival in Italy as combining with the Aborigines against the Siculi and occupying Caere, Pisae, Saturnia, Alsium, and other cities.

[18] 359. Fell, 103 (cf. n. 2), does not agree with this view.

[19] Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 94; Justinus 20, 1, 11; Bormann, *C.I.L.* XI, page 273.

[20] Pais, 356–357.

[21] Pais, 360–365.

[22] Bormann, *C.I.L.* XI, page 273.

There is no proof that Pisae was a member of the Etruscan League[23] or even a particularly distinguished Etruscan city. Vergil may have included her in this catalogue partly because of her geographical position, a port representing fairly well the extreme limit of Etruscan power in the northwest; but more weighty in his eyes, probably, was the established tradition of her friendliness to Rome. This port was used by the consul A. Atilius, on his return from Sardinia in 225 B.C. (Polybius 2, 27, 1), and by P. Scipio in the Second Punic War, when he set out for Spain (Polybius 3, 41, 2, 4) and again on his hasty return (Polybius 3, 56, 5; Livy 21, 39, 3). In the Ligurian wars of the second century B.C., which Rome had to wage far from home, Pisae was her base of operations, both by land and by sea (Livy 33, 43; 34, 56; 35, 3–4; etc.). She is referred to as a *provincia* in 195 B.C. (Livy 33, 43, 5) and in 178 B.C. (Livy 41, 5, 7).

In 180 B.C. the Pisans offered to the Roman Senate territory for a Latin colony.[24] That another colony was sent to Pisae well on in the following century is shown by two important inscriptions[25] found there, in which special honors are decreed to the grandsons of Augustus, to Lucius in 2 A.D., and to both Lucius and Gaius in 4 A.D. Each youth is described as a *patronus* of the colony. In the earlier inscription (No. 1420) the inhabitants are styled *coloni Iulienses coloniae Obsequentis Iuliae Pisanae,* a phrase which

[23] However, the Augustan colony of Pisae was probably a member of the Etruscan League of Imperial times, a league which, it has been conjectured, was one of the antiquarian revivals of the Emperor Claudius (Fell, 170–172 [cf. n. 2]).

[24] L. R. Taylor, *The Latina Colonia of Livy XL,* 43, in *Classical Philology* 16 (1921), 27–33.

[25] *C.I.L.* XI, 1420, 1421.

would point to the establishment of the colony either by the Triumvirs or by Augustus himself. C. Iulius Caesar, father of the dictator, died suddenly at Pisae in 84 B.C. (Pliny the Elder 7, 181). The distinguished son may have wished to have there some memorial of his father; as late as 65 B.C., as curule aedile, he exhibited games in the dead man's honor (Pliny the Elder 33, 53). On the other hand, Bormann thinks that it was Augustus who established the *colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana*. In either case, if the foundation occurred in Vergil's life-time, it may have afforded the poet an additional reason for including Pisae in the catalogue, for Augustus would have felt a special interest in a place with which the Julian family had close personal associations.

Why the Pisans are led by a man of priestly character we do not know. Such a leader would seem more natural in the case of some other Etruscan contingent; but with our scanty, almost negligible, knowledge of the Etruscan period at Pisae,[26] it is impossible to maintain that Vergil was unjustified in making Asilas [27] *hominum divumque interpres* to whom were revealed the meaning of the entrails of flocks, of the stars of the sky, of the tongues of birds and of prophetic lightning-fires (10, 175–177). It was, we must remember, as late as 1877 and considerably farther north than Pisae, in Gallia Cispadana, near

[26] Bormann, *C.I.L.* XI, page 273. Cf., however, Pais, 356, n. 7.

[27] The Daniel-Servius says (on *Aen.* 12, 127) that Asilas is an Etruscan name. Ritter (23, n.: cf. n. 9) says: "Ceterum commemorandi etiam sunt *populi Asili* apud Sil. *Pun.* VIII 443 ss. qui id nomen ab Aesi *Pelasgorum in Piceno* rege derivat." The name Asilas occurs five times in the Aeneid. It is possible to regard it in four of these instances (10, 175; 11, 620; 12, 127, 550) as referring to the same person, the Asilas of our catalogue: in the fifth (9, 571) it refers to a Trojan at the camp of Aeneas before the arrival of the forces enumerated in this catalogue.

the Trebia, that the famous 'liver' of Piacenza was turned up by a farmer's ploughshare.[28]

### D. Caere and its Neighborhood

There follow next (10, 180–184) under Astur, a horseman of exceeding beauty, three hundred men from a region well known to the Romans because of its close proximity to them — Caere, the fields of the Minio, ancient Pyrgi, and insalubrious Graviscae. Here two points in particular arrest our attention: (1) the small number of men (only three hundred) representing so famous a centre of Etruscan power; (2) the absence of any direct mention of famous Tarquinii.

It will be recalled that Caere was the city which the tyrant Mezentius had so heavily oppressed and that not far from Caere Aeneas had found encamped the rebellious citizens and their Etruscan sympathizers. Escaping their wrath Mezentius had fled for refuge to Turnus and, espousing his cause, had appeared leading the pageant of the Latin forces. The implication there is that he had a considerable following (7, 647–648):

> Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
> contemptor divum Mezentius agminaque armat.

His young son, Lausus, is hard by with a thousand men from home. Probably it would have been deemed unwise for many Caerites to join Aeneas' expedition, lest Mezentius return suddenly and overwhelm the town from which he had been expelled.

But, even if Caere could spare Aeneas only a handful of men in such a crisis, the poet gives her the honor of mention in this catalogue, not chiefly, I think, be-

[28] Körte, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 20 (1905), 348–379.

cause of her prestige as one of the most ancient [29] and wealthy [30] and influential [31] of Etruscan cities, but, more probably, because of her recognized preëminence among them as a friend of Rome, a fact manifested particularly at the time of the Gallic invasion, when Caere furnished asylum to the *sacra,* the fleeing Vestals, and the *Flamen Quirinalis* (Livy 5, 40, 7–10; 5, 50, 3). She was also among the cities that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 B.C., but there is evidence that Rome particularly appreciated the earlier service, rendered before Caere had been incorporated in Roman territory, for not only did Camillus, after driving out the Gauls, make a treaty of friendship with the Caerites, quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset (Livy 5, 50, 3), but almost forty years later we find the Romans pardoning Caere's partnership with Tarquinii in a war against Rome not so much, says Livy (7, 20, 8), from present consideration as because of that old-time service.

On the other hand, the record of Tarquinii was not one to stir the Roman soul with grateful memories. Not only did tradition place there the home of the hated Tarquins, but more than a century after the expulsion of the kings, in one of the most anxious periods of the siege of Veii, the Tarquinienses deliberately took advantage of Rome's weakness and sent

[29] Vergil was probably influenced by the tradition recorded by Dionysius (1, 20), that Caere was among the cities which Pelasgians and Aborigines held against the Siculi (cf. n. 17). The mention of Caere in literature occurs as early as the time of Herodotus (1, 167).

[30] The contents of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb indicate the prosperity of Caere in the seventh century B.C.

[31] Caere was one of the twelve cities constituting the Etruscan League. Clusium and Populonia seem to have been the only other cities of the League represented in this catalogue.

foraging expeditions into Roman territory. Livy's brief comment (5, 16, 4) on this hostile act is full of significance: Romanis indignitas maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit. Until her power had distinctly waned Tarquinii was repeatedly found among the enemies of Rome, and her contribution of sails to Scipio's fleet in 205 B.C. came too late to affect materially a record so consistently hostile. Therefore, in spite of her great antiquity and her long prosperity and power, in spite of her distinction as the religious centre of Etruria, the Roman poet may have felt it quite fitting to give Tarquinii only so much notice as would come indirectly through the mention of the dwellers in the fields of the nearby Minio and through the name of her traditional harbor-town, Graviscae (see below, pages 76–77).

In applying to Pyrgi the epithet *veteres* Vergil is supposed to have had in mind her ancient polygonal walls, of the type styled, in Dennis' time, ' Pelasgic.' The small circuit of these walls, which can be traced today, shows that Pyrgi had a population of insignificant size. The fitness of her Greek name (' Towers ') is confirmed by Servius' designation of the place, *castellum* (on *Aen.* 10, 184). The chief event in the meagre extant references to Pyrgi is the plundering there in 384 B.C. of a rich shrine to Εἰλείθυια or Λευκοθέα, from which the tyrant Dionysius carried off a large amount of gold.[32] In spite of the Greek names of the goddess it is generally believed [33] that she was an Italic divinity of child-birth, perhaps the Mater Matuta of Satricum, and that her names are to be explained by the fact that all our accounts of the cult are in Greek writers. In this connection one recalls that Caere herself was known to the Greeks

[32] Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 1349b; Diodorus 15, 14; Strabo 5, 2, 8.
[33] Taylor, *Local Cults*, 125–126.

as Agylla, and that she had, besides Pyrgi, another harbor with a Greek name,[34] Alsium, additional evidence of that trade with the East to which the silent tombs of Caere today bear eloquent testimony.

Of Graviscae we know almost nothing save that she was associated with Tarquinii [35] and is supposed to have been her port. Even her exact site is disputed; that it was north of the Minio we know from Rutilius (*De Reditu* 1, 279–281) and the Itineraries. Bormann thinks the *Porto Clementino,* between the Marta and the Minio, the most probable identification: Dennis [36] preferred a location on the right bank of the Marta.

It seems likely, then, that Pyrgi and Graviscae owe their place in the catalogue merely to the fact that they were ports from which parts of the expedition embarked. To put them on the same plane with the dwellers in Caere and in the fields of the Minio, as is commonly done by making all four groups the subjects of *adiciunt* (*Aen.* 10, 182–184), is unsatisfying (and particularly so in view of the small total of troops mentioned, three hundred men). I am inclined to regard Pyrgi and Graviscae as the subjects of the verb and to let the two relative clauses (*qui Caerete domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis*) define the object, *ter centum.*

I am quite aware of the difficulty involved in taking *et . . . que* for *et . . . et* to connect two nouns; [37]

[34] For Olshausen's view of a Phoenician derivation of the names of Agylla and Pyrgi see above, pages 48–49.

[35] Livy 40, 29, 1; *C.I.L.* XI, 3372, and Bormann's comment, page 511.

[36] 1, 431–435.

[37] In an elaborate note on Cicero, *De Finibus* 5, 64 (page 718), Madvig examines the supposed cases of *et . . . que* for *et . . . et* in Cicero and Livy (he finds no cases in Caesar), and concludes that *et . . . que* is used only to connect two *propositions,* not two nouns.

but to my mind such a usage, in poetry, is more justifiable than the strange conglomeration of four subjects, of which the first two are marked by asyndeton and the others appended to these by *et . . . que*. Furthermore, the interpretation which I have suggested gives a pleasing symmetry and a neat parallelism between subject and object, since Pyrgi contributes those *qui Caerete domo* < *sunt* > and Graviscae those *qui sunt Minionis in arvis;* finally, as I have intimated, Pyrgi and Graviscae thus receive their proper rank as mere points for embarkation.

Ritter [38] suggested that, in naming the leader of the Caerites Astur (Astyr), Vergil was paying a compliment to Augustus and his legate, C. Antistius, for their victories over the Astures, won in 25 B.C. (Dio 53, 25). Ritter was led to this conjecture by the Daniel-Servius, who, commenting upon *Astur equo fidens* (*Aen.* 10, 181), says: *Quidam 'Astur' pro 'Astures' accipiunt, apud quos equi et equites optimi perhibentur.* The horses of Asturia are mentioned by Pliny the Elder also (8, 166) and by Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3, 335–337) and Martial (14, 199). Now, the difficulties met by Augustus in his Spanish campaign had been a subject of anxious interest to the Romans, as is shown by Horace's ode (3, 14) in honor of the Emperor's return; but it would be foot-

---

In order to reach this conclusion Madvig has to condemn the manuscript reading in several passages in Livy: however, he admits that the manuscript reading must stand in Livy 4, 2, 3 (*id et singulis universisque*). Apparently, Madvig does not reject cases of brief phrases or even of single words connected by *et . . . que* in the Letters of Cicero, e.g., *Fam.* 11, 13a, 5 (*quam paratissimi et ab exercitu reliquisque rebus*): here he might have contended that *que* always shows an affinity for words like *ceteri* and *reliqui*. However, Suetonius (*Tiberius* 37) writes: *abolevit et ius moremque asylorum.* Noteworthy in Vergil's own works are *Georgics* 1, 498, *Aen.* 10, 794.

[38] 58 (cf. n. 9).

less to name the leader of Etruscan troops from this remote Spanish tribe unless the name of the tribe had at least a marked resemblance to an Etruscan name.

Silius (*Punica* 3, 334) calls an ancient hero of the tribe 'Astyr, armor-bearer of Memnon from the East.' Olshausen [39] regards 'Astyra' as a genuine Phoenician place-name and thinks its occurrence in different parts of Greece an evidence of the worship of Astarte in those places. Astura in Latium he [40] cites as a perfect example of the natural location for a Phoenician settlement, on an island at the mouth of the river. He says nothing about the Astures in Spain, but Phoenician traders made their way to Spain, of course. Schulze [41] says that there is today in Tuscany a stream Astrone with a tributary, Astroncello.

## E. Ligurians

In a learned discussion (*Excursus I*, on *Aeneid* X), Heyne comments on the surprising fact that in 10, 185–197, there are added to the Etruscans, as companions, the Ligurians, against whom the Etruscans had waged many wars (cf. Strabo 5, 2, 5). He goes on to say that Vergil seems to have done this because the Ligurian race furnished adornment to poetry, for not a few old tales about this people had been repeatedly sung by poets; in particular, Heyne cites the story of Phaethon and Cygnus as one that had been localized among the Ligurians.

Now, a comparison of the clear individualization of many of the commanders of the Latin forces (7,647–817) with the somewhat vague and undistinguished

[39] *R.M.* 8 (1853), 325–327.
[40] 336.
[41] 131, n. 7 (cf. n. 8).

figures of the Etruscan leaders so far introduced in the catalogue of Book X does conceivably suggest the pleasure which Vergil must have felt in being able to employ the wonder-story of Cupavo's helmet-crest; but more important to the poet than this embellishment of a prosaic catalogue was, I think, the significance of the Ligurians themselves, for they appear to have been regarded by the ancients[42] as one of the oldest peoples of Western Europe and to have even been identified by some[43] with the Aborigines of Italy. Today we know that the culture of the people who once inhabited the caves of Liguria was widely spread over the Italian peninsula in the Neolithic Age, so that 'Ligurian' is the name which many archaeologists[44] now employ to denote the very primitive civilization of Italy in neolithic times. Whether these people represent, according to Sergi's widely accepted theory, one of the northward migrations of his 'Mediterranean race,' or, according to a theory that is a favorite now of French scholars,[45] an early southward migration from the 'European state,' they are, in any case, the first people of whom we have any very considerable and widely diffused remains in Italy, a pastoral people, regularly practising inhumation. They were the foundation-layer of the population of modern Italy; in the words of Homo,[46] "Ligurians and Italici, inhumationists and cremationists, represent the two constituent elements, the two

[42] Hesiod (quoted by Strabo, 7, 3, 7); Herodotus 7, 165; Aeschylus (quoted by Strabo 4, 1, 7); Euripides, *Troades* 437.

[43] Dionysius 1, 10.

[44] Peet, 166–167; L. Homo, *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism* (1927), 47, *et passim.*

[45] Cf. C. Jullian, *De la Gaule à la France* [2] (1923), 63 ff., 81 ff.; Homo, 45–47 (cf. n. 44).

[46] 69–70 (cf. n. 44).

primordial cells from which were to grow the primitive Latins, the Prisco-Latini, the most remote ancestors of the Roman people."

The distance of Roman Liguria from the rallying-point of Tarchon's forces near Caere may render improbable to the casual reader the presence of Ligurians in this catalogue; but, in view of the wide diffusion of the 'Ligurian' culture just described, such a difficulty does not exist for the archaeologist and probably was not felt by Vergil's contemporaries. Even as late as Polybius' time the Ligurian territory extended on the inland side as far south as Arretium (Polybius 2, 16, 2). It may quite reasonably be thought of in the period following the Trojan War as reaching considerably farther down along the range of the Apennines. Festus [47] preserves a tradition of the expulsion of the Ligurians from the Septimontium by the Sacrani, and Pais [48] holds it "more than probable that in early times the Ligurians occupied the coast of central Italy at least as far as Rome."

I have suggested (above, page 71) that one of Pisae's claims to mention in the catalogue was her service to Rome in the latter's wars against Liguria. That the Ligurians should also be found receiving honorable mention in this catalogue may, then, seem inconsistent; but in the course of her long history Rome, like modern European powers, found herself siding now with, now against, a given nation. This was true in the case of Liguria, whose hostility to the Etruscans at the end of the fourth century and during the third century B.C. she approved and encouraged. Even in her own wars with the Ligurians in the second century B.C. she did not wish, according to Plutarch (*Aemilius Paulus* 6), to extirpate that

[47] Page 468 (De Ponor). [48] 356.

people, for she realized that they formed a kind of buffer state between herself and the Gauls, ' who were always threatening to descend upon Italy.'

In one other passage (*Georgics* 2, 167–169), Vergil particularly honors the Ligurians when he cites them, along with the Marsi, the Sabelli, and the Volsci, as typical of that *genus acre virum* which Italy, ' great parent of men,' had produced.

In only one passage does he seem to reflect on the character of the Ligurians — in the account of the great battle of Book XI, where the son of Aunus cunningly leads Camilla into danger by challenging her to fight on foot. This dweller in the Apennines is characterized (701) as haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant. If we consider this passage by itself and in its own context, *fallere* does not, I think, imply more than the use of that craftiness by which an adversary in war is deliberately enticed into a position of danger. In verse 716 Camilla stigmatizes the scheme of the *lubricus Aunus* as an example of his *patriae artes*. However repulsive we may find the exercise of such craft to be, it is inseparable from war, and, as Heyne has indicated (on " 699 seqq."), it is exactly the quality which would be developed in a people who were, over a long period of time, hunted from their homes and gradually beaten back into the wild mountain-fastnesses of Liguria.

The mendacity of the Ligurians is, however, generally emphasized by commentators on this passage; the suggestion came originally from the Daniel-Servius (on 11, 715),[49] who gives as his authorities the learned Nigidius Figulus (*circa* 60 B.C.), and Cato, in

[49] Cf., however, the much milder comment of Servius himself (on 11, 700) with no mention of mendacity: Ligures autem omnes fallaces sunt, sicut ait Cato in secundo originum libro.

the *Origines*. Well-known, too, is Cicero's allusion (*Pro Cluentio* 72) to the action of the dishonest Staienus, who, when both *cognomina*, Paetus and Ligus, were open to him, chose Paetus, ne, si se Ligurem fecisset, nationis magis quam generis uti cognomine videretur.[50]

## F. Mantua

It cannot be claimed that the Mantuan contingent furnishes an altogether happy climax to this catalogue; the poet seems to be laboring to honor the land of his birth. In the first place, the Etruscan settlements beyond the Apennines were made much later than those in southern Etruria [51] — in fact, not before the end of the sixth century B.C. Moreover, it is impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the Etruscan dodecany in the north, for whose existence Livy vouches;[52] and, even if we could name those cities, it seems unlikely that Mantua exercised the hegemony which most commentators believe Vergil to have assigned to her in certain troublesome verses (10, 202–203):[53]

[50] Nettleship (on 11, 701) further cites the case of a Ligurian cohort which was bribed to desert the Romans in the Jugurthine War (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 38, 6).

[51] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans* (1924), 2, 258.

[52] Livy 5, 33, 7–10. See P. Ducati, *Etruria Antica*, 2 (1925), 12–14; Homo, 108 (cf. n. 44).

[53] The most generally accepted interpretation of these lines has been essentially this: 'Mantua with ancestry distinguished, but not all of one race; threefold is the race and four communities are under each. Mantua herself is head of these communities; her greatest strength is derived from Tuscan blood.' Servius' interpretation of *gens* as *tribus* and of *populi quaterni* as implying a division of the *gens* into *quaternae curiae*, and Niebuhr's interpretation (*History of Rome* [2] [1855], 1, 296, n. 57) of *populi* as δῆμοι have been generally discarded. See Conington, *ad locum*.

gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni;
ipsa caput populis; Tusco de sanguine vires.

Pliny the Elder refers (3, 115) to Felsina (Roman Bononia, now Bologna) as having been *princeps Etruriae*, and Strabo mentions (5, 1, 6) Mantua along with Brixia, Regium, and Comum as smaller than the notable cities Mediolanum and Verona, while Martial (14, 195) still further stresses this matter of size by setting *parva Mantua* off against *magna Verona:*

Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo
quantum parva suo Mantua Vergilio.

Some prestige may, indeed, have attached to Mantua as the only Etruscan town left across the Po in the time of Pliny the Elder (3, 130); [54] but more significant in Vergil's time may have been the fact that in the days of Gallic power in that region Mantua appears to have belonged to the Cenomani (Ptolemaeus 3, 1, 31: cf. Livy 32, 30, 4), a tribe which usually fought with Rome, against its Celtic kinsmen — e.g., in the Gallic War of 220 B.C. (Strabo 5, 1, 9) and in the Hannibalic War (Livy 21, 55, 4).[55]

Interesting, too, as bearing on the importance of prehistoric Mantua, is a conjecture made by von

[54] Tenney Frank (*Vergil: a Biography* [1922], 4–5) suggests that Pliny's statement rested on a misapprehension of Vergil's description of Mantua (10, 201–203), which the poet intended to apply to the Mantua of the Heroic Age, and not at all to his own times, when the Etruscans had long since been driven out of the Po Valley by invading Celts.

[55] Perhaps after Hannibal's defeat there was an awakening of national feeling among the Cenomani, for in 200 B.C. we find them joining the ranks of the Insubres (Livy 31, 10, 2), but three years later this action is disavowed by the elders and leading men as having been due to the *iuventus* and not sanctioned *publico consilio* (Livy 32, 30, 7).

Duhn [56] in quite a different connection, to the effect that, after the founding of Felsina (Bononia, Bologna) in the second half of the sixth century B.C., the Etruscans, finding their route eastward from Felsina to the Adriatic blocked by swamplands, pushed northward and then eastward to Adria and the sea, between the Adige and the Po, so that prehistoric Mantua would have lain at least within reach of this trade-route and also on the way to the most important pass of the Alps.

As for the two Mantuan leaders, the Daniel-Servius records (on 10, 198) among other traditions one to the effect that Ocnus was the son or the brother of Aulestes, that, since Aulestes had founded Perusia, Ocnus, to avoid rivalry with him, emigrated and founded Felsina, and, further, that Ocnus permitted his army *ut castella munirent, in quorum numero Mantua fuit.* Such a tradition of Mantua's ultimate origin from Perusia might offer some excuse for drawing distant Mantua into an expedition with Etruria proper;[57] it may also throw light on verse 198, where Ocnus is said to summon a host *patriis ab oris,*[58] a phrase more applicable to Perusia than to Mantua,[59] which, the poet goes on to say (199–200), Ocnus founded and named from his mother, Manto. Vergil's failure to name a member of the Etruscan League with remains so imposing as those of Perusia may have been due to an unwillingness to honor thus a city against

[56] 1, 177–178.

[57] Livy (5, 33, 9) represents the twelve Etruscan cities north of the Apennines as colonies of the twelve cities in the south.

[58] However, cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica* 8, 598–599:

> et, quondam Teucris comes in Laurentia bella,
> Ocni prisca domus parvique Bononia Rheni. . . .

[59] Or Felsina, for that matter.

which Octavian had conducted a terrible siege (41 B.C.) and on which he was widely credited with having visited a gruesome vengeance (Suetonius, *Augustus* 15; Dio Cassius 48, 14).

According to Mueller-Deecke,[60] Ocnus is a late form of the name of a prehistoric hero of Perusia, Aucnus (Aunus). Ocnus is said by Servius (on 10, 198; *Eclogue* 9, 60) to be the same person as Bianor, whose tomb is represented in *Eclogue* 9, 59–60 as near the city of Mantua. In making Ocnus son of a river-god and a prophetess Vergil is trying to give an air of hoary antiquity to the founding of Mantua. He may have chosen the Tiber as the Tuscan river *par excellence,* but it was also suitable because of its close proximity to Perusia, from which Ocnus originally came. If Manto, as daughter of Theban Tiresias or of Hercules (Servius, and the Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 10, 198), was intended to stand for Greek influence in the origin of the city, Vergil was no more justified in assuming such influence at Mantua than he was in the case of Pisae (see above, pages 69–70). Indeed, there was another, and probably earlier,[61] tradition (cf. the Daniel-Servius on 10, 198), to the effect that Mantua was founded by Etruscan Tarchon, brother of Tyrrhenus, and named from the Etruscan god of the dead, the Latinized form of whose name was *Mantus.*

The name *Aulestes* seems to have come from the Etruscan *Aule,*[62] whose Roman form, *Aulus,* we know in such names as that of Cicero's client, A. Caecina,

[60] *Die Etrusker,* $2^2$ (1877), 287.

[61] Mueller-Deecke, $2,^2$ 287 (cf. n. 60), characterize the legend of Manto, the prophetess, as "eine späte, Gräcisirende und etymologisirende Erfindung."

[62] Cf. also, in *C.I.E.* I, the gentile name *aulśtni* (1800), *auluśtni* (1799), *aulstn* (2640). See Schulze, 73 (cf. n. 8).

and in that of the satirist, A. Persius Flaccus, both, as it happens, from the Etruscan city of Volaterrae. The ending of the noun, Aulestes, Ritter [63] thinks, may have been due to an attempt to parallel certain Greek names like Orestes, Thyestes, etc.

Mantua is almost an island, surrounded by a lake-like enlargement of the Mincio on all sides except the south and the southwest, and even there the marshy land can be flooded in case of siege. The city itself has yielded little of archaeological interest, but it lies in a part of Gallia Transpadana which bears many traces of neolithic inhabitants and which seems to have been a particularly important region in eneolithic times,[64] while the *comune* of Mantua has a thick group of *terramara* settlements.[65]

The difficulty of getting the ships of the Mantuans down to Caere will naturally occur to the reader. The ship of Ocnus has for its figure-head a likeness of the river god Mincius, who was the son of Benacus and whose head was suitably veiled with gray sedge. Perhaps the ship itself had been supplied by Etruria proper and the Mantuans had furnished merely the figure-head; [66] there is nothing especially distinctive in the Triton which adorns the boat of Aulestes.

[63] 93, n. 1 (cf. n. 9), on the authority of Deecke.

[64] See von Duhn, 1, 17–20; Peet, 190–191.

[65] Peet, 342–343.

[66] Some such explanation is suggested by Servius (on 10, 157) in the case of Aeneas' ship with its figure-head of Mt. Ida and the lions of the Magna Mater, though the literal-minded Daniel-Servius adds: *quidam volunt hanc navem ex his esse quibus Aeneas ad Euandrum erat evectus, et ad Etruriam terra esse portatam.* Heyne suggests that when Aeneas, on Evander's advice, went to Tarchon's camp, his two boats were sent back down the Tiber and then sailed up the Tyrrhenian coast to Caere. Such a theory leaves out of account the difficulty of getting out of the Tiber when Aeneas' city at the mouth of the river was being besieged. Better is Heyne's concluding sentence: Poetam tamen minus cautum in his fuisse arbitror.

CHAPTER IV

# THE VOLSCIANS

It is not merely the picturesque figure of the warrior-maid, Camilla, which makes her Volscian contingent a fitting climax for the catalogue of the Latin forces (7, 805–817), nor yet is it the splendor of her squadrons, ' flowering with bronze '; something fundamental, in addition to these spectacular and half-miraculous externals, would be demanded by a serious artist, and this demand finds satisfaction in the essential character and quality of the Volscians themselves. In his immortal panegyric on his native land Vergil picks out the Volscians for special mention (*Georgics* 2, 167–169) as typifying those keen and sturdy stocks which had entered into the making of the Italian people:

Haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos
extulit. . . .

Again, the prowess of these warriors is emphasized by the stricken Evander, who will ever count it a joy that the untimely death of his beautiful son came only after Pallas had slain his Volscian thousands (11, 166–168). Obviously, the poet deeply respected those stubborn foes, from whom hungry Rome was able only by two centuries of struggle to wrest the coveted grain-fields of the rich Pontine Plain.[1]

[1] The story of this conflict is told by Livy and Dionysius. See also M.-R. de la Blanchère, *Terracine, Essai d'Histoire Locale*, in *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 34 (1884), 31–43.

The picture which Vergil gives us of the Volscian territory is the merest outline-sketch, filled in just enough to render intelligible the unique figure of Camilla. In this land we hear of cities (11, 567), like the Privernum[2] from which Metabus was expelled (11, 540), but we are much more aware of the swollen Amasenus and the vast tracts of wild forest-land in which the tyrant could elude his pursuers and live for years uncaptured. Of the civilization in these cities we are not told, but a somewhat close association, involving the right of intermarriage, between Volscians and Etruscans seems to be assumed (11, 581–582). The Volscian troops include more than Camilla's cavalrymen; in the attack on Aeneas' camp at the mouth of the Tiber they make a *testudo* and prepare to fill the trenches and destroy the palisade (9, 505–506), while for the great engagement of Book XI Volusus is bidden by Turnus to command the Volscian maniples to arm themselves (463).

The story of this warlike race before it entered upon its long conflict with Rome in the early days of the Republic has until recently been almost a sealed book, but archaeological exploration is gradually revealing evidence concerning the origin and the racial connections of the Volscians, their first civilization, with its cities and its cults. The small remains of their language are more closely related to the Umbro-Sabellian

[2] The ruins of the Roman town of Privernum lie two kilometres north of the modern town of Piperno, in the plain, at a cross-roads not far from the Amasenus. It seems likely that the Volscians would have chosen a higher site, but only excavation can determine the facts of the case (cf. *Notizie,* 1899, 88 ff.; H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde,* Volume 2, Part 2 [1902], 646–647). H. H. Armstrong (*A.J.A.* 15 [1911], 57–59) thinks that Monte Macchione was the site of the Volscian city.

than to the Latin-Faliscan branch of Italic dialects.[3] They themselves seem to have composed one of those streams of Italici who had by the Early Iron Age poured down from the interior of the peninsula on to the limestone ridge that is parallel to the Apennines and beyond the river Trerus (Sacco), and who soon spread over the adjacent plain and finally even reached the sea. They were an inhuming people, like the Rutuli, their neighbors along the coast above them, but the inland portion of their territory had previously been occupied by another Italic group, a cremating stock with affiliations in the district of the Alban Hills. Either these cremating Italici never extended their sway quite down to the coast, or, if they did, they were later so submerged by their inhuming successors as to leave only scant traces along the way, at Velletri, at Valvisciolo and Caṛacupa (both near Norba), and at Satricum, which is generally said to be their extreme southern outpost.[4] That our knowledge on this point may, however, be incomplete for some time yet is indicated by the fact that, in the recent (1925) excavations for the construction of the buildings for the new Transatlantic Cable Company at Anzio, there were found near the shore, above the Grotte di Nerone, not only several *fossa*-burials but also four cremation-tombs, the latter containing 'Villanovan' ossuaries. With each ossuary were a *fibula ad arco ingrossato e corta staffa* and several small vases, of which some were plainly of the

[3] See von Duhn, 1, 411: cf. 531; R. S. Conway, *Italic Dialects* (1897), 267–282.

[4] See von Duhn, 1, 409–413, 521. The traditional founding of Satricum from Alba Longa (Diodorus Siculus 7, 3a) is thus confirmed by the presence of cremation-graves at Satricum, which are plainly earlier than the inhumation-graves. Their contents are similar to those of the tombs in the Alban Hills.

Latian type, like those of the Villa Cavalletti and the Alban necropolis. A fifth cremation-grave had been destroyed before the work came into the hands of the official archaeologists.[5]

The chief cemeteries of the early Volscians, so far uncovered, are those of Caracupa and Satricum. In the former, seventy-six inhumation-graves (one containing two bodies) have been studied.[6] The bodies lay extended at full length; they had been interred in wooden coffins, as was also the Umbro-Sabellian custom. No stone or *cippus* marked the graves, a fact which may, in von Duhn's opinion, have some connection with the surprising lack of epitaphs in the entire Umbro-Oscan territory. The abundance of *fibulae* in the earliest graves of the women points to unsewed clothing, while the simple character of the personal ornaments here and the absence of weapons of defense in the graves of the men are further indications of the primitive nature of the life of this people. As the women had their spinning-utensils (cf. 7, 805–806), so the men had their weapons of offense, of which the lance with bronze or iron point was commonest; not infrequent were bronze and iron axes (cf. 11, 651) and daggers or short swords of iron. In each of four graves which contained no iron and no weapons other than a bronze lance was a semicircular 'razor' of the later type (the handle and the blade were cast in one piece; the handle was a flat ring). The graves are plainly not all of one period. This is shown, in the case of the women's graves, by the increasing elegance in form of the *fibulae,* by the

[5] See A. W. Van Buren, *A.J.A.* 30 (1926), 364. He was permitted to anticipate here the official report to be made by Antonielli in the *Notizie.*

[6] *Notizie,* 1903, 289–344; von Duhn, 1, 521–530.

appearance of glass and amber beads, of an ivory bracelet and one of silver; one man's grave, of unusual size for a *fossa*-tomb (3.50–4 m. x 5 m.), contained, in addition to an axe, spear-point and dagger of iron, two tires and other iron-work from a wagon (war-chariot?), five proto-Corinthian *lekythoi* and household utensils (pottery and two andirons) which indicate a marked advance in material progress. The graves of this cemetery extend from the beginning of the Iron Age, through the coming of foreign influence, down to the end of the seventh century B.C.

Unique among Volscian sites is Satricum, because the excavations there have revealed an unusually detailed picture of an ancient Italic city from the Early Iron Age down to the middle of the sixth century B.C.[7] On the acropolis were found traces of the foundations of a considerable number of hut-dwellings, hollowed out in the ground to a depth of about half a metre, in form circular or elliptical or rectangular. The walls had probably been of straw and clay on a wooden framework. Traces of hearths were found, sometimes in the centre, sometimes against a wall, of the dwelling. The oldest pottery in the huts was of the Bronze Age, but a large proportion of the utensils was contemporaneous with the Latian ceramic, while the very latest vessels bore traces of the 'orientalizing' influence. The circular huts, about five metres in diameter, and the elliptical huts, slightly larger, seem to have belonged to the early cremating inhabitants, while the gradually developing rectangular dwellings were Volscian.[8] The cremating people did not immediately disappear with the coming of the Volscians, but there is a period in which the two

[7] A. Della Seta, 233–319; von Duhn, 1, 531–533.

[8] See von Duhn, 1, 412–413. Cf., however, Della Seta, 238.

rites are found together. On the inhumation-graves the earth was heaped up to form a *tumulus,* which reminds von Duhn of the Umbrian practice, e.g., at Terni, where, however, because of the mountainous character of that inland region, stones instead of earth were largely used for the *tumulus.* In contrast with the poor native furniture of the cremation-graves at Satricum is the content of the later inhumation-graves, which, with their elaborate bronze vessels and pottery from Greece and the Aegean, suggest comparison with the finest tombs of Praeneste.[9] These rich graves at Satricum must belong to the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C.; they show the Volscians at an advanced stage in their progress from the interior of the peninsula towards the sea and already in active trade-contacts with the East. The chief cult discovered at Satricum is that of the Mater Matuta, a goddess resembling Iuno Lucina. Her temple[10] was on the acropolis. From its considerable remains we have evidence of two periods in its history, the Ionic period, beginning about the middle of the sixth century B.C., and the archaic period, extending from a time between the sixth and the fifth centuries to the third or the second century B.C.; but earlier than either of these buildings there must have been an open-air cult here, as is proved by the *stipe votiva,* found within the walls of the earlier temple, that contained objects of the seventh and the early sixth centuries B.C.[11]

Vergil's simple picture of Volscian life during Ca-

[9] See von Duhn, 1, 531–532.

[10] Della Seta, 234–235, 251–279.

[11] A second *stipe votiva,* southwest of the temple, contained objects which date from the fourth to the second century B.C. Cf. Della Seta, 280–293; von Duhn, 1, 533.

milla's childhood is, then, quite within the bounds of probability: it is entirely consistent with what we know of this people in the Early Iron Age. His error lies primarily in representing the marriageable Camilla as known in Etruscan towns. If once we grant that the Volscians were already in contact with a people so advanced in material progress as the Etruscans, then such details as Camilla's mantle of royal 'purple' and the gold *fibula* which bound her hair (7, 814–816) are entirely explicable. Vergil's constant assumption of the presence and the power of the Etruscans in Italy at the end of the Trojan War, while it is in harmony with the views of his day, must be counted one of the great anachronisms of the Aeneid by all those who accept the steadily increasing archaeological evidence regarding the arrival of this mysterious people in Italy. Their coming is now generally placed not earlier than 850 B.C. Vergil's assumption was, however, especially natural in connection with the Volscian territory, where Etruscan place-names,[12] Etruscan pottery and terra cottas,[13] and impressive remains of a great drainage-system in the Pontine region, similar to that of southern Etruria

[12] See Dennis, 2 (1883), 261. It must be remembered that there was no scientific knowledge of etymology in the Augustan Age.

[13] E.g., in the later (of the fourth to the second century B.C.) *stipe votiva* of the Mater Matuta Temple at Satricum (Della Seta, 293–294). Mueller-Deecke (*Die Etrusker,* 2 [2] [1877], 251, n. 17) held that the painted terra cotta reliefs of Velletri pointed to a Volscian school of artists that was dependent upon Etruscan art. This idea seemed to them to be confirmed by a passage in Pliny the Elder (35, 157) which represents Turianus, a Volscian artist of Fregellae, as making the statue of Jupiter for the Capitoline Temple at Rome (cf., however, Dennis, 1, 220, n. 3). But the reading which suggested this view seems long since to have been abandoned in favor of one which assumes a Veientine artist: Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicandam (Mayhoff, Teubner text, 1897).

and Latium,[14] would all lend credibility to the belief in early and widespread Etruscan influence.[15]

It is well-known that the figure of Camilla is found nowhere in literature previous to the exquisite rendering of her story in the Aeneid (7, 803–817; 11, 498–867). As the Daniel-Servius perhaps implies (on *Aen.* 1, 317), Vergil may have taken the general idea of her rustic upbringing and fleetness of foot from the legend of the Thracian princess Harpalyce,[16] whose father was also a tyrant-king like Metabus, expelled from his domain because of his *ferocia,* while the poet's own words (11, 648, 659–663) unquestionably show that he was influenced by legends of the Amazons and their queens, Hippolyte and Penthesilea.[17] Yet to one who knows Vergil's method it is a tempting supposition that Camilla was not entirely the creature of his imagination, but rather was an outgrowth of some old Volscian legend upon which he had happily chanced in his wide antiquarian studies. Heyne[18] thought that we must assume the

[14] De la Blanchère, in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. cuniculus, especially 1, 1593–1594; Koch, Mercklin, and Weickert, *Römische Mitteilungen* 30 (1915), 185–190; Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*[2] (1927), 8–10.

[15] Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 11, 567. There Cato is given as authority for such a belief.

[16] Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie,* 1, 849 (1884–1886), s.v. Camilla, 1, 1835–1841 (1886–1890), s.v. Harpalyke; Knaack, *Harpalyke,* in *R.M.* 49 (1894), 526–531.

[17] In this connection one recalls the legend of the beautiful, brave, young Penthesilea, slain by Achilles when she had come to the aid of the Trojans after the death of Hector. Indeed, Servius suggests (on *Aen.* 7, 803) that Camilla is properly placed last in the catalogue of the Latin forces not only because of her sex, but also because the Amazons had been the last allies whose help the Trojans had sought.

[18] *Excursus II De Camilla,* on *Aeneid* XI. Cf. Heinze, 215, n. 1.

existence of an old monument to Camilla among the Volscians of Vergil's day. But the most interesting and concrete suggestion was made by Brunn,[19] who believed that he had found the Camilla of the Aeneid depicted on a Praenestine *cista* made two centuries before Vergil's day. Now, a warrior-maid does appear once in the mutilated frieze which runs around the body of the *cista,* but her identification as Camilla rests solely upon the fact that two of the combatants that are near her appear again, quite certainly as Aeneas and Turnus, on the cover of the *cista.* Unfortunately for Brunn's interpretation, Heydemann [20] and Robert [21] seem to have shown that, while the cover itself is ancient, the design on it was added much later by an artist who had in mind the great battle of Aeneid XI. This artist introduced into his design, as Aeneas and Turnus, two figures copied from the old frieze below, which, in all probability, had been intended to represent not a Latin myth, but Greek warriors conquering the Amazon Penthesilea.

Once established in literature, Camilla seems to have lived on not only in the works of poets like Dante [22] and Tasso [23] but in the minds of the Volscians

[19] *A.I.* 31 (1864), 356–376. The *cista* is reproduced in *Monumenti dell'Instituto* 8, *Tavv.* VII, VIII. For the information that it is now in the British Museum (cf. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes* [1899], No. 741) I am indebted to the kindness of the distinguished scholar and expert, the late Mr. John Marshall of Rome.

[20] *Archaeologische Zeitung,* 29 (1872), 122.

[21] In *Homerische Becher* (*5otes Winckelmannsfestprogram,* Berlin, 1890), 63, n. 1 Robert says that the cover-design of this *cista* " eine plumpe Falschung ist, deren Verfertiger die Einzelheiten, wo er nur irgend konnte, der antiken Gravirung am Mantel der Cista entnommen hat." Cf. Walters, 129–130 (cf. n. 19).

[22] *Inferno* 1, 106–108.

[23] As Clorinda in *Gerusalemme Liberata.*

themselves; for the distinguished Dante scholar, Benvenuto da Imola, tells [24] the story of another maiden from Privernum in his own times, strong of body, bold in spirit, skilled in warfare, who splendidly avenged the murder of her father and chose to live a virgin "velut nova Camilla." His description of her fierce prowess ends with the remark that such a maiden helps us understand the free, proud response of that legate from Privernum of whose examination before the Roman Senate Livy writes (8, 21, 2): qui interrogatus a quodam tristioris sententiae auctore, quam poenam meritos Privernates censeret, "Eam" inquit, "quam merentur, qui se libertate dignos censent." Certainly, among a people of such spirit in the Early Iron Age we might expect to find, springing up and flourishing, the Amazonian ideal.[25]

[24] See James Henry, *Aeneidea*, 4 (1889), 210–211.

[25] Eleanor S. Duckett (*Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid*, in *Smith College Classical Studies*, 1 [1920], 34, *et passim*) believes that "the martial spirit of Hellenistic royal women is exactly pictured in Camilla."

CHAPTER V

# HUMAN SACRIFICE

In the fierce battle which follows Aeneas' return to his besieged camp with his newly-won allies, word is brought to him that young Pallas has been slain and that the Trojans in another part of the field are in grave peril (10, 510–512, 533). Setting out to find the exultant Turnus, Aeneas mows a path through the enemy's ranks with his sword (513–515). In his mind are Pallas and Evander and the pledges of friendship which he and Evander as guest and as host have so recently exchanged (515–517). With no further word of explanation or apology the poet briefly adds that Aeneas takes alive from the enemy eight youths, to offer as sacrificial victims to the dead Pallas, that he may sprinkle his funeral-pyre with the blood shed in slaying them (517–520).

The following day Aeneas gives his attention to the burial of the fallen (11, 22–28) and to preparations for sending home the body of Pallas (30–99). The most striking feature of the procession which escorts the bier is the group of youths, with hands bound behind their backs, of whom it is again said (81–82) that Aeneas sends them as a sacrifice to the dead, to sprinkle the flames with their blood.

In general, commentators cite this gruesome incident as an example of Homeric influence on Vergil, the parallel being, of course, Achilles' sacrifice of twelve noble Trojan youths on the pyre of his friend, Patroclus (*Iliad* 23, 175–176). There are no other

instances of human sacrifice either in Homer or in Vergil. Indeed, so foreign to the Homeric spirit is the terrible episode that Gilbert Murray[1] holds it to have been introduced into the Iliad only because "it was too firmly fixed in the tradition to be denied." The brevity of the description, "crowded into a shame-faced line and a half," with not even "a whole verb to itself," and immediately followed by the poet's condemnation of Achilles, 'Yea, his heart devised evil deeds,'[2] seems to Professor Murray a clear case of a poet recording a fact against his will.[3]

But, if such behavior is shocking in Achilles, it is even more so in Aeneas, whose humane character is nowhere more strongly emphasized than in this very battle, where his gallant treatment of young Lausus in life (10, 810–812) and his tender tribute to him in death (825–832) reveal adequately Aeneas' (and Vergil's) estimate of mere revenge in warfare. Least of all poets would Vergil have been so insensitive as lightly to credit his hero with the monstrous cruelty of slaying human victims and, in almost the same breath, with that noble expression of pity for his young adversary. Even more than the Homeric poet must Vergil have felt himself under the compulsion of a tradition of human sacrifice, not necessarily a tradition concerning Pallas individually, but, at least, a tradition about the age in which his epic was set. Did he believe that the barbarous rite characterized prehistoric Greece or, more particularly, Evander's

[1] 141.

[2] Walter Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] (1902), on 23, 176, expresses the belief that κακά does not involve any ethical criticism of Achilles, since "Such a judgment would be quite against the Epic style. . . . The word means only that what he did was ill work for his victims."

[3] See also E. Rohde, *Psyche*[8] (Hillis' translation, 1925), 14, 17, etc.; M. P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (1925), 101, 140.

Arcadia? Did he associate it with the Oriental culture of Aeneas himself? Would the large proportion of Etruscans among Aeneas' allies demand this grisly honor for the son of their stricken friend? Or is the poet merely accepting for primitive Italy a rite which seems to have existed in so many parts of the ancient world, which has even been practised down to modern times on every continent of the globe? [4] The philosophy underlying this wide-spread custom is that, when a man of position dies and his soul departs to the strange world of the dead, the souls of his wives and attendants, even his animals, must go with him to continue their good offices in the new life. The distinguished anthropologist, Professor E. B. Tylor, says that a study of the ethnography of this rite shows that " it is not so strongly marked in the very lowest levels of culture, but that, arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival." [5]

In Evander's own Arcadia, men said,[6] the hereditary priest of Zeus Lykaios had to offer to the wolf-god a little child from his own family, sprinkle the altar with the blood, and eat the entrails mingled

[4] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* [7] (1924), 458–474.

[5] Tylor, *Primitive Culture,*[7] 458. Cf. Friedrich Schwenn, *Griechische Menschenopfer* (1915), 19 (a University of Rostock dissertation).

[6] See, *inter alia,* Plato, *Republic* 8, 565 D; Pausanias 8, 2, 3; Pliny the Elder (8, 82). Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18, 17) cites Varro as authority for the story. For additional references see W. Immerwahr, *Die Arkadischen Kulte* (1891), 1–24, and Schwenn, 21, n. 1 (cf. note 5). From the fourth century document, *Minos,* attributed to Plato, it is a reasonable conjecture that human sacrifice is the kind of sacrifice which is there (315 C) attributed to Arcadians. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* 1(1896), 92, believes that, in this cult of Zeus Lykaios, an animal was *called* a child and sacrificed in place of the child.

with those of animals; then, hanging his garments on a tree, he swam across a lake and was changed into a wolf. If for nine years in the wilds he did not taste human flesh, he was changed back into a man and could return and take his garments from the tree. The rite was age-old, said to have been founded by Lykaon, who was the mythical ancestor of Arcadian kings.

The idea of human sacrifice to a god was, then, a familiar one in the traditions about prehistoric Arcadia. Whether such sacrifices formed part of an Arcadian cult of the dead we have, so far, little evidence,[7] but that funeral-sacrifice of human victims was practised in prehistoric Greece in general is the conviction of not a few scholars. Absolute archaeological proof of this conjecture is not forthcoming. The human bones which have from time to time been so interpreted were in most cases, probably, those which had been swept aside from former burials, to make room for the last occupant of the tomb. Schliemann found, nine feet above the opening of the third shaft-grave at Mycenae, and twenty-one feet below the former surface of the ground, a considerable number of human skeletons, which were, however, so much destroyed by the moisture that none of the skulls could be taken out entire. In the tombs of the lower city, where the bodies were buried, traces of ashes were, nevertheless, found which must have resulted from some sort of sacrifice to the dead. After the admission of the last body the door of the tomb had been walled up and the *dromos* had been filled with earth. In this earth were found many human bones, in one case six human skeletons, symmetrically placed crosswise before the opening, at different

[7] See the case of Philopoemen (below, p. 104).

depths, but apparently all at one time. Both Tsountas[8] and Schuchhardt,[9] writing in 1889 of these discoveries, held that the six bodies were those of slaves, slain to accompany their master to Hades.[10] Very interesting in this connection is a case reported by Professor Carl Blegen from his recent excavations at Argos, an undisturbed burial immediately over the door of one of the tombs, in the *dromos*. The photograph does unmistakably suggest that the buried man is guarding the entrance to the tomb; he may, as Professor Blegen believes, have been slain for this purpose. Such is the interpretation put upon the five bodies of men found at the door of the recently discovered tomb of Queen Shubad at Ur, where the main interment in each of the splendid royal graves was accompanied by human sacrifice on a very large scale, sixty men-victims being contained in the tomb of one king.[11]

In contrast with these astounding Sumerian finds, which are believed to go back into the fourth millennium B.C., and even in comparison with the vastly later Scythian burials (the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C.) which, as Rostovtzeff reminds us,[12] con-

[8] Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική , Third Series, 1888, 130 ff. Cf. Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age* (1896), 97.

[9] *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenä, Orchomenos, Ithaka* (1889–1890), 240.

[10] That the human bones found above the shaft-grave were those of sacrificial victims is, obviously, pure conjecture.

[11] *Excavations at Ur, 1927–8, Abstract of a Lecture of Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, Delivered 15th May, 1928* (Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1928). The human sacrifices which accompany the burials of the earliest Sumerian rulers but are never found in the graves of commoners are interpreted as evidence that the king was distinguished from the commoner by the attribute of divinity: see Woolley, *The Sumerians* (1928), 30, 39, 126.

[12] *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), 44 ff.

firm in so many points the testimony of Herodotus, the prehistoric tombs in Greece fail to yield indubitable examples of human sacrificial victims, but they do yield from the time of the Cycladic culture (of the third millennium B.C.) to the geometric period countless little figures, some of which doubtless represent the gods who will help the dead man on his last journey, while others, which represent, e.g., zither-players and flute-players, are believed by some scholars to be substitutes for attendants who, at an earlier time, would have been forced to follow the great man in order to entertain him in the underworld.

If, as many scholars believe, hero-cults were survivals of a general cult of the dead, it is interesting to find human sacrifice persisting in Christian times (provided the accounts from this period are reliable) in such worships as that of Diomede[13] and even of Peleus and Chiron, heroes of Achilles' own Thessaly.[14]

Though Homer has only one instance of human sacrifice, the works of the Cyclic poets and the writers of Greek tragedy contain many instances, and examples from these fields must have been very familiar to Vergil. In the Iliupersis, Polyxena had to die before the Greeks could sail home, even as Iphigenia had to be sacrificed before they could leave Aulis; but the fact that Polyxena was slain at the tomb of Achilles signifies, in the opinion of some scholars, that she was originally thought of as a funeral offering to the hero, slain to serve him as his wife in Hades.[15] In the

[13] Porphyrius, *De Abstinentia* 2, 54.

[14] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticon* 36 P.

[15] Cf. P. Stengel, *Griechische Kultusaltertümer*[3] (1920), 129. Galli (*M.A.* 24 [1916], 64 ff.) discusses the slaying of Polyxena as it is represented in art. His examples run from at least the early fifth century B.C. and include the scene on the *Tabula Iliaca*, which was found near Bovillae, and is generally assigned to the early part of

Hecuba of Euripides (534–538) Neoptolemus, offering Polyxena at the grave of Achilles, calls upon his soul to drink her blood.

Outside the limited area of funeral sacrifice Stengel[16] has assembled from Greek mythology and even, in a few instances, from historical times a considerable array of cases in which human victims were employed, to secure favorable winds for a voyage, to gain victory in battle, to guarantee a newly-rising city against future danger, to ward off drought and famine and pestilence, to purify a whole people by the shedding of human blood. Gilbert Murray[17] has pointed out how questionable is the evidence for the actual sacrifice of human *φαρμακοί* in the annual Thargelia ceremony at Athens. No case of human sacrifice in the historic period is more commonly cited than the one to which Plutarch refers in three different connections (*Themistocles* 13; *Aristides* 9; *Pelopidas* 21); at the bidding of a seer, just before the battle of Salamis, in the camp of Themistocles,[18] three noble captive youths, sons of the sister of Xerxes, were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous (*Διόνυσος Ὠμηστής*). Herodotus, writing perhaps fifty years after the battle, does not mention the horrible incident, possibly,

---

the first century A.D. One of the most important of these representations is that on an archaic *amphora* now in the British Museum (see Galli, Figure 37; cf. H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.* 18 [1898], 282 ff., Plate XV).

[16] 128–132 (cf. n. 15).

[17] 12–13, and Appendix A.

[18] Gilbert Murray points out (14) that the sacrifice is attributed in Plutarch, *Themistocles* 13 to the mob, not to Themistocles himself. In one of the three references to the incident (Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 21, 3) this is not the case, perhaps because in a brief summary of the matter Themistocles is held responsible for what happens in his camp.

as Schwenn suggests,[19] because he realized that at Athens religious ideas were so advanced that the narrative would be too painful; by this time, at least, the practice was condemned as barbaric.[20] In any case, we must concede that Plutarch's source, Phanias, however learned,[21] was a hundred and fifty years later than Herodotus.

It is from Plutarch again that we learn of a case of human sacrifice in historic times which is of special interest to us because it suggests an Arcadian cult of the dead. As late as 183 B.C., when Philopoemen had fallen in his effort to defeat Sparta, Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at his tomb (Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 21), stoning being a ritual mode of killing.

We hear surprisingly little in the Aeneid of divinities that have any peculiarly Trojan quality. The goddess of the *arx* at Troy, on the preservation of whose image the safety of the city depended (2, 162–170), is like the Pallas whom we have come to know

[19] 76 (cf. n. 5).

[20] See, e.g., Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 151; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 368–391, 465, *Andromache* 625. Professor Murray writes (11): "The memory of a time when human beings had been deliberately slaughtered as a way of pleasing God runs through the literature of the fifth century as of something far-off, romantic, horrible." But that such a memory did live on for many centuries more is plain from Lucian's scathing indictment of unrestrained mourning for the dead (Περὶ Πένθους 14: I give the Loeb Classical Library Translation): "Have not many sacrificed horses, concubines, sometimes even cup-bearers, over their dead, and burned or buried with them clothing and other articles of personal adornment, as if they would use them there and get some good of them down below?" Lucian gives no indication as to the period at which such sacrifices were offered: read in its context the passage does not necessarily suggest a 'far-off' time.

[21] Plutarch, *Themistocles* 13, calls him ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν.

farther west in the Mediterranean basin. It was at the feet of her cult-statue and beneath her shield that the serpents took refuge after killing Laocoon and his sons; that she is not actively fighting for Troy on that last night but is in the company of Neptune, Juno and Jupiter, who are aiding the Greeks, is one more evidence that the city is completely doomed (610–616). It is in the process of sacrificing to Neptune that Laocoon meets his death (201–224). There is a temple to Ceres just outside the city (713–714, 742); there is even one to hostile Juno within the gates (761).

When Hector's shade tells the sleeping Aeneas that Troy is entrusting to him *sacra suosque . . . penatis* (2, 293), the poet's brief explanation includes the mention of only Vesta and her eternal fire (296–297; cf. 5, 744–745; 9, 258–260), nor does Vergil stop to specify the *sacra victosque deos* entrusted to Aeneas by Panthus later in that same night (2, 320). The following summer, as the Trojans set sail for their western goal, the exile Aeneas is borne out upon the deep *cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis* (3, 12). It is plain that Roman antiquarians were uncertain as to the identity of these *di magni*.[22]

While the Apollo of 'the wanderings' has the marks of the Greek Ἀρχηγέτης, the poet takes pains to connect him with Asia Minor (4, 345–346):

> sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
> Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes.

In great crises Aeneas prays most often, perhaps, to Jupiter, who was thought of as the father of the

[22] See Servius, *ad loc.;* Macrobius 3, 4, 6–7; Wissowa, *Religion,* 166, *Römische Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (1904), 99; Fowler, *Aeneas,* 111–113.

Trojan race (7, 219): he feels the immanence of divine powers in all nature and prays to them as present in sea and sky, in rivers and fountains (e.g., 3, 528; 7, 137–139; 12, 181–182).

But the distinctively Asiatic deity of the Aeneid is not among those whom Aeneas is bringing with so much toil and pain to Hesperia; a millennium was to pass before she came to Rome, in one of the great crises of the Second Punic War. Perhaps Vergil knew as little as we know of Trojan cults in general and introduced into his epic the Great Mother mainly because of her historic entrance into Rome, the memory of which was kept fresh in his day by her temple on the Palatine and by the annual *ludi* in her honor. However that may be, it is she who detains Creusa in Book II (788) and who, as Mother of the Gods, furnishes the magnificent simile describing Rome, mother of the nations, in Book VI (781–787). It is she whose watchful care of the fleet is miraculously vindicated in Book IX (116–122); the representation of her lions beneath Mt. Ida forms the figurehead of the ship in which Aeneas guides his western allies down to his besieged camp at the mouth of the Tiber (10, 156–158). It is the resplendent Oriental garb of Chloreus, who was Cybele's priest at Troy, that proves the undoing of Camilla. At critical times Aeneas calls upon Cybele less often than upon Jupiter, but not infrequently he appeals to her along with him. In that poignant moment when it is revealed to the Trojan leader that he has at last reached his goal there surges up in him the memory of his far-distant home, and, calling upon the genius of this strange, new place and the spirits of its unknown waters and Earth and Night with her stars, he reaches the climax in two metrically impressive lines in which he invokes

Idaean Jove and the Phrygian Mother and his own parents, his goddess-mother in the sky, and his father Anchises in Erebus (7, 139–140):

> Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem
> invocat, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis.

Rarely do we find in Vergil's allusions to the cult of Cybele any hint of that frenzied worship which Catullus (*Carmen* 63) pictured a generation before. The dignity and the majesty of the goddess of the turreted crown distinguish her appearances in the Aeneid,[23] and, in fact, Vergil's contemporary, Dionysius, explains (2, 19) in considerable detail the modified form which this cult had been obliged to assume at Rome.[24]

From the Aeneid, then, we get no evidence that Aeneas' Oriental origin would compel him to the barbarous rite of human sacrifice. Some scholars[25] do see in the horrible mutilations of the priests of Cybele survivals of such a sacrifice and, on general principles, it would not be strange to find the sacrifice in connection with the orgiastic ritual of a great fertility-cult like that of Cybele.

Little as we know of primitive beliefs in the region of Troy, there is evidence of a persistent cult of the dead in every period of Anatolian history. Professor Ramsay says[26] that, in spite of the antipathy of

[23] In 9, 617–620 Numanus Remulus is engaged in a piece of special pleading, which is manifestly exaggerated and prejudiced.

[24] The fragments of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae* (see F. Buecheler, *Petroni Saturae et Liber Priapeorum*[5] [1912], especially page 196, Fragment 132, and page 198, Fragments 149, 150) leave us doubtful as to the success of the attempts to regulate this orgiastic worship at Rome.

[25] E.g. Reinhard Suchier, *De Victimis Humanis apud Graecos*, Part I, 6 (*Jahresbericht, Gymnasium zu Hanau*, 1848).

[26] Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 9, 908.

Mohammedanism for this sort of cult, it remains to this day " an imperishable survival of an old religious view." Of a Trojan cult of the dead we have hints in the Aeneid; Andromache offers libations to Hector at his cenotaph in Epirus (3, 301–305), and in the belated funeral ceremonies for Polydorus the Trojans offer cups of warm milk and sacrificial blood (3, 66–67); Aeneas bears these, with wine and ' purple ' flowers, to the tomb of his father (5, 77–79); on the funeral pyre of Misenus are placed his gleaming arms, his ' purple ' robes, and gifts of incense, food (*dapes*), and olive oil (6, 217–225). Fowler [27] reminds us that Anchises was no ordinary human being and that Servius by his comments on 5, 47–50 " makes it plain that the burial rites of Anchises constituted an apotheosis." Real sacrifices, not mere funeral offerings, were made to him (5, 94–103).[28] Servius also (on 5, 95) suggests in the same note that the *famulus* of verse 95 may be interpreted as a slave buried with Anchises, ' as was wont to happen at the funerals of kings in olden times.'

Human sacrifice for expiatory purposes at Troy is not unheard of in tradition, as when Laomedon devoted his daughter, Hesione, to a sea-monster, and, later, when the Locrians had to send two maidens as an annual offering for one thousand years to atone for the insult offered to Cassandra by their own Ajax. However, Hesione was rescued by Heracles and the Locrian maidens were not necessarily put to death, but after being landed on the promontory of Rhoeteum by night they could be slain by any Trojan who

[27] *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1914), 24. Mr. Fowler seems to me to force the meaning of verses 59–60, when, following the lead of Servius, he says that prayer for favoring winds is made to Anchises.

[28] For the snake in Greek hero-cults see Rohde, *Psyche*,[8] 137 (cf. n. 3).

met them before they made their way into the sanctuary of Athena at Troy. An inscription found in Locris and dated near the beginning of the third century B.C. speaks of the rite as still continuing.[29]

The existence of an Etruscan cult of the dead cannot be doubted by anyone who knows the painted tombs of Tarquinii. In some of the earlier tombs (e.g., the Tomba degli Auguri and the Tomba del Morto, of the sixth century B.C.) the representation of the death-lament is an unmistakable evidence of the funeral or memorial character of the accompanying games and dances. The attempt to enliven the existence of the dead is apparent in the hunting-scenes of the Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca (of the sixth century B.C.) and the Tomba Querciola (of the fifth century B.C.), while the Tomba Golini (of the late fifth century B.C.) at Orvieto, with its scenes from kitchen, larder and wine-cellar, suggests the creature-comforts provided for the dead in Egyptian tombs.

Gradually there creeps into these Etruscan paintings a gruesome element, consisting of fantastic scenes from the underworld and from certain horrible stories in Greek mythology. Poulsen[30] attributes the rise and the spread of this element to a collapse of the national morale, accompanying the decline of Etruscan supremacy, with which period it does in fact coincide; Weege[31] sees in it the northward spread over the peninsula of Orphic-Pythagorean rites, which, in his opinion, form the subject of many of the paintings and might conceivably have

[29] See Walter Leaf, *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography* (1912), 126–144.

[30] *Etruscan Tomb-Paintings, Their Subjects and Significance* (1922), 41 ff.

[31] *Etruskische Malerei* (1921), 23 ff. Weege describes the change in tone as coming "mit einem Schlage"!

found fertile soil in the Etruscan genius, with its inclination to the fantastic and the mysterious.[32] Charons, Lasae, and horrible demons of various sorts abound on Etruscan urns, vases, mirrors, and wall-paintings. The urns and the sarcophagi show scenes of murder and sacrifice.[33] Especially common are the sacrifice of Iphigenia and the mortal combat of the brothers, Eteocles and Polynices. Dennis describes [34] a sarcophagus from Tarquinii, now in the Museo Gregoriano, on all four sides of which are ghastly scenes of carnage, one relief seeming to represent Clytaemnestra "immolated to the *manes* of Agamemnon." But especially interesting to us are the representations of the slaughter of the Trojan captives as tribute to the shade of Patroclus. The best-known portrayal of this scene is, probably, the painting from the François Tomb at Vulci, now in the Palazzo Torlonia at Rome. The most recently discovered portrayal is that which covers one of the long sides of the splendid sarcophagus [35] found at Torre San Severo, near Orvieto, while the opposite side depicts the sacrifice of Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles. At last accounts, nine ancient representations [36] of the Patroclus scene had come to light, all

[32] In his interesting little book, *The Etruscans* (1927), 129, Randall-MacIver protests at the constant assertion of the terrifying character of Etruscan scenes: "Dante and Orcagna are far more terrifying and far more cruel; and yet their savage moods did not cloud the joyous life of fourteenth-century Tuscany."

[33] Dennis, 2 (1883), 178 ff.

[34] 2, 456.

[35] Galli's account (*M.A.* 24 [1916], 5–115) is accompanied by large colored Plates, showing the reliefs on all four sides of this sarcophagus.

[36] In *Ausonia* 5 (1910), 118–127, Galli published the eighth of these nine representations (*Un Vaso Falisco con Rappresentazione del Sacrificio funebre a Patroclo*), with bibliography of articles on the seven which were previously known.

of them on Italian soil, all of about the same period (the fourth to the third century B.C.) and all but one, the *amphora Canusina* from Apulia, products of Etruscan art or plainly related to it.

Herodotus (1, 167) tells us that, after a great naval battle in the Sardinian Sea, the Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians landed their Phocaean captives on the coast near Agylla (Caere) and stoned them to death. However, this was no real sacrifice, for it was followed by horrible consequences and, at the command of the Delphic oracle, was expiated by games which were still celebrated in Herodotus' day.

Livy records (7, 15, 9–10), under the year 358 B.C., a Roman defeat at the hands of the Tarquinienses and adds that ' this disaster in battle was overshadowed by the fact that the Tarquinienses slew < *immolarunt* > three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers, an act of savagery which made more marked the humiliation of the Roman people.'

If we possessed that portion of the *Etrusca disciplina* which is known as the *libri fatales,* we should probably get from it some light on our problem. We hear of these books at Rome as early as the siege of Veii (Livy 5, 14, 4), but they were in the keeping of the *Quindecemviri* and Livy does not distinguish them clearly from the Sibylline Books.[37] A possible exception to this statement (Livy 22, 57, 6) will be discussed in another context (below, page 115, n. 45).

The gladiators whose combats are depicted on Etruscan grave-urns of the third century B.C. may, from this association, be regarded as *bustuarii.* As such they were taken over from the Etruscans by the Romans (264 B.C.), who long employed them only at

[37] See note of Weissenborn-Müller on Livy 5, 14, 4.

funeral-games.[38] Servius distinctly says (on *Aen.* 10, 519) that gladiators were substitutes for the sacrifice of captives at the tombs of brave men.

In general, Vergil's countrymen regarded human sacrifice as barbarous (Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* 31) and un-Roman (Livy 22, 57, 6); it was not included in the *ius divinum* and there are recorded in Roman history few instances of the practice of this rite up to the poet's own time. Of peculiar interest, then, for the reader of the Aeneid are two[39] cases related of the Julian family.

When besieged Perusia surrendered (41 B.C.), Octavian is said by Suetonius (*Augustus* 15) and by Dio Cassius (48, 14, 3–4) to have inflicted the death-penalty on many of the enemy. Both writers add that a story was current to the effect that the captives did not suffer death in any ordinary form, but that many knights and senators, at least three hundred, were slain at an altar consecrated to Julius Caesar. Suetonius says that this occurred on the Ides of March and he applies to the victims the language of ritual: *hostiarum more mactatos.* The story is doubted by Shuckburgh, since Suetonius and Dio Cassius relate it with reserve (*Scribunt quidam . . . ; καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει ὅτι . . .*), and we have, in addition, only a general sort of confirmation of the tale from Seneca,

[38] See the Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 3, 67; Livy, *Periocha* 16; Valerius Maximus 2, 4, 7. Not until 105 B.C. were gladiatorial combats given at public *ludi* (Wissowa, *Religion,* 466; Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb-Paintings,* 13–14 [cf. n. 30]).

[39] A third case, less well-known and not so clearly ritualistic in character, is related by Orosius (5, 15, 3), who says that, when in 28 B.C. the consul Quintilius Varus lost in Germany all the men in his three legions, "Augustus was so grieved that he oft unwittingly struck his head against the wall when he sat on his seat: and he ordered the consul to be put to death." (Bosworth's translation of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius).

who, in contrasting the mature Augustus with the young Octavian, adds (*De Clementia* 1, 11, 1): fuerit moderatus et clemens, nempe post mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones. Is it altogether fanciful to see in Octavian's slaughter of three hundred noble Perusini a ghastly hint of revenge for those three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers, butchered at another Etruscan town, Tarquinii, three centuries before? It is a contemporary of Octavian, Livy, who does not fail to stress the humiliation suffered by the Romans in that early disaster (see above, page 111).

The other story is related of Julius Caesar himself by Dio Cassius (43, 24, 3–4), who says [40] that the soldiers raised a disturbance over the reckless extravagance of the dictator's triumph in 46 B.C. and that "they did not cease their rioting until Caesar . . . seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance < ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν >. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed <ἐτύθησαν > in the Campus Martius by <πρός> the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia." Both Wissowa [41] and Fowler [42]

[40] In quoting both Dio Cassius and Plutarch I have used the translations contained in the Loeb Classical Library.

[41] 421, n. 2.

[42] *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 142–144. In *Religious Experience*, 33, n. 28, Fowler classes together this sacrifice of the mutineers and of the victims on Pallas' pyre as being of the same nature, "outside of the civil life and religious law."

believe that these mutineers were sacrificed in place of or concurrently with 'the October horse,' i.e., to Mars.

From the dark pages of the Civil Wars come other interesting cases, as when Sextus Pompey (who represented himself as the son of Neptune, since his father had ruled the sea [43]), elated by his great naval victory over Caesar in 38 B.C. " put on a dark blue robe and cast alive into the strait not only horses but also, as some relate, men as well " (see Dio Cassius 48, 48, 5), and the brother of Marius was tortured to death, by Sulla's order, at the tomb of Catulus (Florus 2, 9, 26; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 2, 173–193).

From the earlier period of the Republic come two instances which are often cited in the discussion of human sacrifice at Rome. These, again, are both associated with war,[44] but they were authorized by the Sibylline Books or by the *libri fatales,* i.e., they are clearly due to foreign influence, whether Greek or Etruscan. The earlier case occurred between the First and the Second Punic War when, as Plutarch (*Marcellus* 3) tells us, in view of an approaching invasion by the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans made unparalleled military preparations for the conflict and offered extraordinary sacrifices to the gods. He continues thus: " For though they have no barbarous or unnatural practices, . . . at the time when this war burst upon them they were constrained to obey certain oracular commands from the Sibylline Books, and to bury alive two Greeks, a man and a woman, and

[43] Dio Cassius 48, 19; cf. 48, 31.

[44] C. Cichorius (*Römische Studien* [1922], 12–20) argues that this particular rite, the burying alive of a Gallic and a Greek pair, is always expiatory and associated with a sin of the Vestals, and that it is not particularly connected with war.

likewise two Gauls, in the place called the "forum boarium," or cattle-market; and in memory of these victims, they still to this day, in the month of November, perform mysterious and secret ceremonies."

It is unfortunate that Livy's account of this Gallic invasion is lost, for the sacrifice described by Plutarch is the same which Livy reports (22, 57, 6) under the year 216 B.C., when the unchastity of two Vestals, occurring in one of the darkest periods of the Hannibalic War, was interpreted as a portent. 'The <Sibylline?> books' were consulted. Q. Fabius Pictor was sent to Delphi to find how the gods could be appeased, and meanwhile, in accordance with the *libri fatales*,[45] several extraordinary sacrifices were made, among them the burying alive of a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman, in the Forum Boarium, in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, inbutum.

This form of expiation was employed by the State in the year 114 B.C., on the discovery of the unchastity of three Vestals (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* LXXXIII; Livy, *Periocha* 63). One naturally asks why a Gallic and a Greek pair seem always to be the victims of this rite. Mr. H. J. Rose [46] agrees with Mueller-Deecke [47] and with Cichorius [48] that the rite was of Etruscan origin and that the victims were perhaps chosen to represent two typical hostile nations,

[45] Weissenborn originally held that in this passage Livy was, by the insertion of *interim*, distinguishing between the *libri <Sibyllini>* of § 4 and the *libri fatales* of § 6. This contention, which was still maintained in the fifth edition of Book V (14, 4) by Weissenborn-Müller, is abandoned in the seventh edition of Book XXII.

[46] *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (1924), notes on LXXXIII. Cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 320.

[47] *Die Etrusker* $2^2$ (1877), 20.

[48] *Römische Studien* (1922), 19–20 (cf. n. 44).

against whom the Etruscans had for centuries contended. In spite of the fact that the rite appears in the time of Pliny the Elder, his explanation (28, 12) is not only incomplete, but also, as Cichorius has shown, untrue to the facts: Boario vero in Foro Graecum Graecamque defossos aut aliarum gentium, cum quibus tum res esset, etiam nostra aetas vidit.

In the year 97 B.C. the sacrifice of human victims had been forbidden by decree of the Senate;[49] but in picturing the Heroic Age Vergil would, of course, be guided not so much by the practice of his own day or even by recorded history as by the traditions concerning the most primitive times. It is probably under such influence that Livy in the book commonly described as his 'prose epic' seems to accept a cult of the dead and human offerings to a departed hero when he represents (1, 25, 12) the surviving Horatius as striking down the one remaining Curiatius and crying, Duos fratrum Manibus dedi, tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. Furthermore, there existed in Vergil's day certain obscure practices which the ancients themselves regarded as survivals of human sacrifice. For example, Dionysius, Vergil's contemporary, says (1, 38) that the early inhabitants were accustomed to offer human victims to Saturn, as used to be the case at Carthage and as now happens among the Gauls and other Western nations, but that Heracles, wishing to abolish this custom, dedicated an altar and initiated the practice of burnt offerings. However,

[49] DCLVII demum anno urbis Cn. Cornelio Lentulo P. Licinio Crasso cos. senatusconsultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palamque fit, in tempus il/ut sacra prodigiosa celebrata. So Pliny the Elder (30, 12: Mayhoff, Teubner, 1897). Julius Caesar's sacrifice of the mutineers in 46 B.C. was a half-century after this decree.

lest the people should fear that in making such a change they were neglecting their old rites, he taught them that for the men whom they were in the habit of casting into the Tiber, bound hand and foot, they should substitute representatives of these human victims. Thence Dionysius goes on to derive the rite of the *Argei*.[50] Also, later writers, like Macrobius and Festus, regard as survivals of human sacrifice the *oscilla* [51] and the *sigillaria* [52] of the *Saturnalia*, the *maniae* [53] and the *pilae* [54] of the *Compitalia*, and the exiles vowed in a *ver sacrum*.[55] In view of the history of the progressive development of human sacrifice the world over, this idea of substitute-offerings is not in itself improbable. There are scholars who accept such an explanation in one or another of the above cases: [56] but the facts are that we have no unmistakable proof of such a development in Italy, where the evidence from graves is as slight and as ambiguous as we found it to be in Greece. Cases in which two persons were buried together contemporaneously have been interpreted by Pigorini and

[50] Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae XXXII*) makes a slightly different suggestion. Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 7, 44 ff.) merely states what the rite was in his own day.

[51] Macrobius 1, 7, 28–31 (on the authority of Varro). Cf. above, page 60.

[52] Macrobius 1, 11, 46–50.

[53] Macrobius 1, 7, 35.

[54] Festus, 303–305 (De Ponor, 1889).

[55] The belief that the men were actually sacrificed (Festus, 379) is, in Wissowa's opinion (420, n. 5), pure invention.

[56] Particularly in the case of the *Argei*, where Wissowa is the leading defender of this position (*Römische Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, Chapter X, = Pauly-Wissowa, 2 [1896], 689–699, s.v. Argei). He does not regard the original rite as primitive, but considers it as late as the Punic Wars. Cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 54, n. 24, and H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (1924), 98–101.

Rellini [57] as evidence that one of the occupants of the grave was a dependent of the other, slain to accompany his lord into the new life. Such a neolithic burial of two crouching skeletons may be seen in the Museo Preistorico at Rome: it was found at Fontanella in the *comune* of Casalromano and the province of Mantua. In the period of transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age a few double burials appear at Bologna, where, however, a cinerary urn with enclosed ashes is accompanied by a skeleton in the crouching position characteristic of the Ligurian rite, the two burials being contemporaneous. One recalls, too, from Etruria proper the bucchero *olla* with its cremated remains in the right-hand niche of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere, and the reasonable conjecture that this burial was simultaneous with the two splendid inhumation burials in this tomb.[58]

A consideration of the influences under which Vergil introduced human victims among the funeral offerings to young Pallas shows, then, the following results:

(1) Strangely enough, the Oriental provenance of the hero, Aeneas, appears to have been the least weighty influence. The poet seems to avoid every implication of the traditional cruelty and barbarity of the East when he describes Trojan rites. This may have been due merely to a desire to picture worthily the founder of the great Roman race, especially in the Augustan Age, when so much that was undesirable was pressing into Italy from the Orient. But the reason may have been better grounded than

[57] *M.A.* 26 (1920), 160–161; cf. von Duhn, 1, 168, and H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 37.

[58] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans* (1924), 199–200.

that; it may rest on a tradition which has only in our time been found to have some basis in fact. When Aeneas reminds Evander of the common origin of the Greeks and the Trojans, the substance of his mythological discourse (8, 127–142) is summed up in verse 142:

Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.

That, as Fowler [59] pointed out, is strangely like the findings of archaeologists today, who believe that Greeks and Phrygians swept down towards the eastern end of the Mediterranean basin from a common home in the Danubian regions of southern Europe.

(2) The original suggestion of human sacrifice may well have been due to a feeling that, in view of Homeric precedent, one could not ignore the probable existence of so horrible a custom in the dim, remote Age of Heroes; and, if it must be introduced, it would be natural, again in view of Achilles and Patroclus, to employ it for a young prince with Greek affiliations. Arcadia was, moreover, a particularly backward country, with ancient traditions of human sacrifice; only a century before Vergil's time Arcadians had stoned to death captive enemies at the tomb of one of their great men, Philopoemen, who was, it may be added, well-known to Romans for his doughty resistance to their power in the Greece of his day.

(3) Vergil must have been familiar with such Etruscan tomb-paintings, funeral urns, and sarcophagi as we have discussed, with the historic cruelties of the Agyllini and the Tarquinienses, and with the Etruscan origin of gladiatorial combats. A large proportion of Aeneas' allies was Etruscan; their feel-

[59] *Aeneas*, 50–51.

ings would have no little weight in determining the nature of the honors paid to the fallen son of their friend, Evander.

(4) Finally, the poet's knowledge of antiquarian writings, the views of a contemporary like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the recorded instances of human sacrifice from the time of the Punic Wars, and the resort to so terrible a measure by Julius Caesar and even, perhaps, by Octavian would leave a poet little doubt that in his own Italy this 'barbaric' rite had existed in primitive times. The argument of its cruelty could not have weighed heavily with even the gentlest of souls after he had lived through the ghastly atrocities of the Civil Wars and the Proscriptions.

CHAPTER VI

# CREMATION AND INHUMATION

So great is Vergil's reputation for exact antiquarian knowledge that one is curious to know if he had any conception of the distinction existing between the cremating and the inhuming peoples who were involved in the conflict recorded in Aeneid VII–XII. We should expect him to infer from Homer that the Trojans and the Greeks practised cremation. It is impossible to believe that he was entirely ignorant of the splendid old Etruscan tombs that lay so near to Rome. Besides, he probably had observed that the Etruscans of his own day buried their dead. But, as regards the followers of Turnus, the poet might easily have been mistaken, since cremation was the custom of his day throughout Central Italy, and probably only the chance discovery of old tombs could have suggested to the learned that in the primitive times the area of cremation was limited to the central part of Latium,[1] whereas the Rutuli of Turnus' Ardea[2] and the Volscians[3] of the Pontine region practised inhumation. In any case, we know enough of Vergil's method to be quite sure that he would not omit a careful search for all that might help him to present in correct setting the early peoples who occupied so large a place in his epic.

[1] See von Duhn, 1, 391–436.

[2] See von Duhn, 1, 519–521.

[3] See above, Chapter IV, pages 89–90; von Duhn, 1, 410–412, 521–533.

In Book XI (184–212) occurs a comparatively long and detailed description of the ways in which the Trojans and the Latins disposed of the bodies of their dead after the great battle of Book X. In this passage Vergil seems to have more than an inkling of the existence of cremating and of inhuming peoples among the combatants, a fact which did not escape the notice of Servius, who in his comment on verse 186 says:

MORE TULERE PATRUM quia apud varias gentes diversa fuerunt genera sepulturae, inde est quod alii obruuntur, alii exuruntur, alii proprias remittuntur ad patrias; alii per diem, ut nunc isti, alii per noctem, ut supra Pallas. Et perite has varietates Vergilius posuit. . . .

In the first part of 11, 184–212 the poet's distinctions are not so clearly drawn as Servius' note leads one to expect; for not only Aeneas, but also his ally, Tarchon, an inhuming Etruscan, erect *pyrae* on the shore, and, though Vergil adds (11, 185–186),

> Huc corpora quisque suorum
> more tulere patrum,

the description which immediately follows (186–202) contains no mention of any other method of treating the bodies than that of burning.[4] However, when we

[4] It may be argued that the Trojans and the Arcadians formed the important part of Aeneas' forces and that they both practised cremation. However, the Etruscan contingent was numerically strong and Aeneas would naturally respect its burial-rites. Possibly Vergil became confused about the Etruscan practice through a knowledge of chance discoveries of Villanovan urns in Etruria and even through a knowledge of the fact that in so typical an Etruscan tomb as the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere there was found in a niche on one side an *olla* containing cremated remains. These were, apparently, the ashes of an Italic dependent of the Etruscan master

reach the verses (203–212) which describe the proceedings on the Latin side, we do find the variety of treatment of which Servius speaks in his note on verse 186:

Nec minus et miseri diversa in parte Latini
innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim
multa virum terrae infodiunt, avectaque partim
finitimos tollunt in agros urbique remittunt;
cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum
nec numero nec honore cremant; tunc undique vasti
certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri.
Tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram:
maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant
ossa focis tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae.

Neither the catalogue of the Latin forces nor that of the Trojans is complete; but we do know that, besides his own countrymen, Aeneas had some Arcadian horsemen (8, 518–519; 10, 236–239) and thirty shiploads of Etruscans with an admixture of Ligurians (10, 164–214), while the troops of Turnus came from many different localities and, so far as they are enumerated (7, 647–817), would seem to have been mainly inhuming peoples. The striking point in this description is that cremation is used on the Latin side only for the great, confused heap of unknown dead, that many bodies are buried on the spot, and that others are sent away to neighboring localities, including the city of Latinus. It seems reasonable to suppose that even inhuming peoples, when at war away from home, may have preferred to burn some of

---

for whom this great chamber-tomb was built (see von Duhn, 1, 341–342; Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 199–200). There would seem to have been a survival of Villanovan cremation for a brief period after the coming of the Etruscans. For the practice of cremation in the *Ager Clusinus* see above, page 66.

their dead rather than inter them in hostile soil.[5] When the Latin *oratores* came to Aeneas, begging for the bodies of their fallen warriors, they asked (11, 102–103),

> corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
> redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae,

but the courteous and sympathetic reply of Aeneas closes with the words (11, 119),

> nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem.

The expression *tumulo succedere terrae* does not preclude burning the dead and putting the ashes in the *tumulus,* but the choice of the word *corpora* as subject of *succedere* lends color to the belief that the *oratores* had inhumation in view. Moreover, the gracious tone of Aeneas' reply makes it probable that his command to burn the Latins was not a refusal to allow them to employ their particular rites, but was merely an unconscious reflection of his own familiar practice; for, as we have seen above, the Latins in this case actually used cremation only for the great heap of unknown dead.[6]

Furthermore, when Etruscan Mezentius found himself at the mercy of Aeneas in the fight, he begged for burial in the following words (10, 903–906):

> Unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:
> corpus humo patiare tegi. Scio acerba meorum
> circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem
> et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.

[5] Cf. Pliny the Elder (7, 187): Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti. Terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum; Seymour, 479.

[6] Later, also, inhumation is the rite implied in the case of Volscian Camilla (11, 593–594). Again it is, perhaps, a fair inference that inhumation would have been the natural rite for Tarquitus (10, 557–558).

Here the use of *corpus* as subject of *humo tegi* lends probability to the view that inhumation was in the mind of Mezentius. The request that he be allowed to share the *sepulcrum* of his son may seem to conflict with this interpretation, for the poet has already referred to the treatment of the body of young Lausus when he made Aeneas say (10, 827–828) to the dying boy,

> arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
> manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.

However, the phrase *parentum manibus et cineri* need not imply literal cremation: it may well be merely a conventional expression for 'the shades of your father,'[7] or, again (cf. above, page 124), an unconscious reflection of the speaker's own practice.

As we saw in 11, 184–202, the Trojan practice in war appears to have been cremation. The only reasons to doubt this are found in two passages at the beginning of Book XI: (a) 2–3, where the poet describes the anxiety of Aeneas to dispose of the bodies of his *socii,*

Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humandis
praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,

(b) 22–23, where Aeneas himself is made to say,

Interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.

[7] Although the body of the murdered Sychaeus seems not to have been burned (*Aen.* 1, 353), Dido says (4, 552): non servata fides *cineri* promissa Sychaeo! Anna has Sychaeus in mind when she asks (4, 34): id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos? See, also, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae,* 3, 1073, 9–10, s.v. cinis, II hominum crematorum reliquiae vel defunctorum manes.

In the first of these passages, where the poet himself is speaking, he probably follows what Cicero declares [8] to be contemporary usage, the use of *humare* to designate any kind of burial; the choice of such a general term would be particularly happy because the *socii* of Aeneas include both cremating and inhuming peoples. Moreover, in the two other passages of the Aeneid [9] where *humare* occurs the bodies in question are burned. As for the phrase *corpora mandare terrae* [10] (11, 22–23), its juxtaposition with *inhumata* seems to reduce it to an equivalent *humare*.

There are recorded in the Aeneid some deaths that do not occur in battle. On the Trojan side those of

[8] *De Legibus* 2, 57: Et quod nunc communiter in omnibus sepultis venit usu, *ut* humati dicantur, id erat proprium tum in iis, quos humus iniecta contexerat, eumque morem ius pontificale confirmat, nam priusquam in os iniecta gleba est, locus ille, ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis: iniecta gleba † tum et illis humatus est, et gleba vocatur, ac tum denique multa religiosa iura conplectitur. In the note on *Aen.* 11, 201 the Daniel-Servius uses *humare* of a person who has been cremated. However, Pliny the Elder (7, 187), after explaining how the Romans came to substitute cremation for inhumation, adds: [sepultus vero intellegatur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contectus].

[9] Compare (a) 6, 161, where the Sibyl is represented as using *humare* of a body which proves to be that of Misenus and which is ultimately cremated (149–152; 176–182; 212–235); (b) 10, 493, where Turnus grants the *solamen humandi* in the case of Pallas, whose body is afterwards sent home to be burned (10, 520; 11, 82). However, Turnus, as an inhuming Rutulian, may be using *humandi* literally and may thus be reflecting his own point of view, as Aeneas seems to have done regarding cremation in 10, 827–828 and 11, 119. The significance of the negative *inhumatus* varies as that of *humare* varies.

[10] A similar expression, *mandare humo*, is used (9, 213) by Nisus, begging Euryalus not to run risk of death (9, 213–215):

> sit qui me raptum pugna pretiove redemptum
> mandet humo solita aut si qua id Fortuna vetabit,
> absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro.

Neither here nor in the mother's lament (9, 485–492) is there any mention of burning, but the omission is not necessarily significant.

Polydorus, Anchises, Misenus, Palinurus, and Caieta are more or less fully described. On the Latin side we have in Book XI a reference to the tomb of an old Laurentine king, Dercennus, a mound of earth which is called *bustum* (850) and, presently (853), *tumulus*. With *bustum* one normally associates burning,[11] but the word is also used in wider sense for *sepulcrum*.[12] Vergil has employed *bustum* in only two other passages in the Aeneid: (a) 11, 201, where it is unmistakably associated with burning, being used of a dying funeral-pyre; (b) 12, 863, where the small bird at night sits *in bustis aut culminibus desertis*.

As for the Trojans whose deaths did not occur in battle, the case of Polydorus (3, 22–68) is not significant for us because he was murdered in a foreign land. The body of Anchises would seem to have been burned and the ashes put in a *tumulus* (5, 31, 47–48, 55–57, 80–81; 4, 427). We have a full description of the burning of the body of Misenus and of the treatment of the ashes (6, 177–182, 212–235). The body of Palinurus was lost (6, 378–381). The brief account of Caieta (7, 1–6) yields no certain evidence, but it should be noted that *ossa* (3) may mean 'ashes' (cf. 6, 228 and many inscriptions on cinerary urns).

The evidence, then, indicates that, in spite of metrical exigencies, Vergil was remarkably consistent in recognizing differences in primitive burial-customs; that he thought of Trojans and Arcadians as practising cremation, but that he regarded the South-Etruscans and the great bulk of the Latin allies as inhuming peoples. His view of the Trojan and Arcadian practice was, doubtless, influenced by Homer,

[11] Cf. Festus s.v. bustum, and the Daniel-Servius on *Aen.* 11, 201.

[12] Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. bustum.

for it does not seem probable that Vergil had stumbled on any evidence of cremation-graves in the Forum and associated them with Evander's settlement on the Palatine; at any rate, it is plain that Cicero [13] regards inhumation as the earliest practice at Rome. To what extent Vergil's contemporaries shared his belief in the differing funeral-rites of early Latium could be determined only by a careful examination of the literature of the Augustan Age; but, if one may cite a single case, there is not in Book I of Livy's history any evidence of that thoughtful discrimination of burial-customs which is unmistakable in the Aeneid.

[13] *De Legibus* 2, 56–58.

## CHAPTER VII

# WARFARE AND ARMS

It goes without saying that in the Heroic Age war was a prime business of life, when every citizen was not merely a potential soldier but ordinarily had actual experience in fighting. How was Vergil to make a true picture of such an age and at the same time hold the interest of a public that was utterly war-weary after decades of internal strife? In some way he must produce the illusion of a world that was primitive and martial, but must relieve this savage and sombre background by illuminating touches which would appeal to the cultivated Romans of the Augustan Age. This result he accomplished in part by the introduction of widely varying topics of interest — travel and exploration (Book III), games (Book V), romance (Book IV), an antiquarian's vision of the place that was later to be Rome (Book VIII), even religious and philosophic speculation (Book VI: the spirit of Anchises across the Styx need no longer be subject to the limitations of the primitive age in which he had lived upon the earth). But all these expedients, however brilliantly employed, are only a partial solution of the artist's problem; it still remains true that the first demand of a Heroic Age is for martial deeds and the poet who would sing of such an age must meet that challenge. Especially insistent is this demand when the hero of the epic is first presented to the reader as an exile, driven from home by an overwhelming military de-

feat. The warlike character of the great nation which is to spring from such seed must, as Heinze[1] reminds us, ultimately be explained and justified by mighty exploits on the part of its progenitors.

We need not here review in detail Heinze's penetrating analysis of the Vergilian, as contrasted with the Homeric, technique in battle-descriptions,[2] how the Roman poet, though picturing the large forces engaged on both sides, nevertheless centres our attention upon a few combatants whom he differentiates as persons and not merely as fighters, how he emphasizes the human aspect and the psychological quality of their actions, how he substitutes for the vaguely-outlined Homeric battles more ordered movements with some dramatic progress in the conflict; but it may be profitable to examine from a slightly different angle than that chosen by Heinze or Warde Fowler[3] the extent of Vergil's dependence upon Homer in the matter of military practice and equipment, and, incidentally, to notice the degree to which the Roman poet succeeded in giving to his epic in this particular direction that national coloring which critics recognize as perhaps its outstanding characteristic. Furthermore, when we detect Italian color, we must try to discover if it was borrowed from Vergil's own age or if the poet was deliberately archaizing.

The battle-descriptions in the Iliad are somewhat bewildering to the casual reader, for, while the marshalling of the troops is often quite elaborate, this careful preparation appears to have no special results. The really effective fighting is done by heavy-armed men who, in the main, rush to the attack independently, first hurling or thrusting a spear at some adversary, and then, if need be, finishing the

[1] 4, 193, etc. [2] 193–196, 210 ff. [3] *Clans*, 26–35, *passim*.

brutal business close at hand with the sword. Gilbert Murray[4] detects in this perplexing situation additional evidence for the growth of the Iliad; he holds that the old Mycenaean fashion of fighting by champions formed the heart of the poem and that this fashion has been overlaid with hints of the warfare of the Bronze Age, in which troops advanced in close array.

In the Iliad a chieftain fights from his chariot, or, more often, dismounts for the fray, leaving the car in charge of his charioteer and returning to it as circumstances may dictate; the ἱππεῖς of the Iliad are, clearly, not at all horsemen in the Attic sense of the word ἱππεῖς. The rough surface of the Peloponnesus was unsuited to large cavalry movements, nor did it even furnish pasturage for horse-raising on any great scale. Only later, then, when they were brought into contact with adversaries differently conditioned in this respect, did the Greek armies develop to any extent the equestrian branch of their service.

In strong contrast with Homeric precedent is Vergil's limited mention of the war-chariot, which, as Heinze[5] has pointed out, is restricted to the Latin side; even there the war-chariot is conspicuously employed only by Turnus. The reason for this marked restriction Heinze attributes to the fact that Aeneas could not have transported chariots overseas

[4] 154.

[5] 200–201. In the catalogue of the Latin forces (Book VII) the chariot is definitely assigned to the leaders, Aventinus (655–656), Halaesus (724), Virbius (782); it is assigned in Book IX to Remus (330), in Book X to Rhoeteus (399), to Turnus (440, 453), to Lucagus (575), whose brother Liger is his charioteer, in Book XII to Murranus (532) and, of course, to Turnus, who did not have a *currus* in the Catalogue (7, 783–802). Also, in Book X Niphaeus has the four-horse chariot (571), which normally belongs to kings in ancient Italy (Heinze, 201, n. 1; Fowler, *Clans*, 50–52, *Turnus*, 58).

and that his allies, Arcadians and Etruscans, are represented as furnishing horsemen (*equites*). That, however, chariots might quite properly have been assigned to Etruscan chieftains seems possible from the revelations of Etruscan tombs. Though these allies came by water, their voyage was short; some of their equipment might even have been sent overland. If such considerations occurred to Vergil, they may have been overborne by the associations with Etruria which cavalry had in the minds of Romans like Cicero (*De Re Publica* 2, 36), who assigned to L. Tarquinius Priscus that organization of the cavalry force which obtained in his day. Furthermore, it would seem that Vergil must have been influenced by some strong native tradition when he so far departed from the Homeric conception of a Heroic Age as to attribute to the Latin side also a very marked use of horsemen. This conjecture finds some support in the fact that Livy[6] and Dionysius (2, 13) represent the *equites* as often the decisive factor in the battles of the regal period. That these horsemen were not cavalry troops in the proper sense of the term, but were foot-soldiers, originally mounted for purposes of rapid transport (as their early designation, *celeres,* implies), Helbig[7] has shown from a critical study of the historical narratives; he has brilliantly confirmed his thesis by archaeological evidence from Etruria and Latium, mainly terra cotta reliefs dating from at least the sixth century B.C. It was not until the fourth century B.C., probably as a result of the Samnite Wars, that the

[6] 1, 30, 9; 2, 31, 2, 43, 7; 3, 70, 4–7; 4, 18–19, 47, 2–5, etc.

[7] *Zur Geschichte des Römischen Equitatus,* in *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenchaften,* Band 23 (1905–1909), Abteilung II (1905), 265–317.

Romans came to have real cavalry forces. That Vergil's *equites* are mounted hoplites we may assume; they have the same equipment as his foot-soldiers and they often dismount and fight on foot.[8] Whether it would have been more correct to employ only the war-chariot in the Heroic Age of Italy we do not know with certainty, but it is reasonable to believe with Eduard Meyer[9] that here, as in Greece, the horse was used first with the chariot, then for foot-soldiers who must make speed, and, lastly, for real cavalry service. Vergil may have meant the few chariots which he represents as employed on the Latin side to be lingering evidences of that first stage. However this may be, tradition represented such a stage as past by the time of Romulus, whose army contained three hundred *equites* (Livy 1, 13, 8; Dionysius 2, 13). Meyer reminds us how significant for the early origin of the *equites* is the record of the *Fasti Praenestini*,[10] to the effect that *tribuni celerum* were present in the comitium at the ancient rites of the Salic dance. Ac-

[8] We have the noun *magister* applied (9, 370) to the leader of three hundred horsemen whom Latinus sent by night with a message to Turnus. Now the formal title, *magister equitum*, would not come into use until the *equites* ceased to be under the same command as the infantry forces (E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, 2 [1924], 276). However, the passage in question is one in which only the *equites* are involved, and it would not be unnatural for Vergil to refer to their leader by the term familiar to his readers. In 11, 517–519 Turnus assigns the command of various cavalry divisions to Camilla, but that is because he himself is not to be on the field of battle. The other troops who are not needed to hold the walls are ordered to go with Turnus (466–467), whose plan of ambush Henry compared to that of the Samnites at Caudine Forks, 321 B.C., where the Romans were cut to pieces.

[9] *Kleine Schriften*, 2 (1924), 283. Cf. Martin P. Nilsson, *The Introduction of Hoplite Tactics at Rome: Its Date and Its Consequences*, *J.R.S.* 19 (1929), 3.

[10] *C.I.L.* I, Part I,[2] page 234: <Sali>faciunt in comitio saltu <adstantibus po>ntificibus et trib(unis) celer(um).

cording to the Servian Constitution the strength of the Roman army was, of course, its foot-soldiers, but the smaller body of *equites* was in high honor. As the Romans became involved with adversaries who, like the Samnites, were strong in cavalry, they increased this arm of the service, but they tended to draw these growing reenforcements at first from the Italian *auxilia;* and after the Social War they drew them from foreign mercenaries. In assigning to horsemen the important part which they play in the Aeneid, Vergil is, then, not only making a radical departure from Homer, but is apparently influenced at not a few points by national tradition. Furthermore, Carcopino[11] has shown in detail how well adapted to equestrian movements is the actual setting of Aeneid IX–XII, a great coastal plain, extending from the mouth of the Tiber down to Prattica (Lavinium) and Ardea.

As might be expected from the conscious artist, Vergil gives us much more variety in warfare than does Homer: first, the besieging of a camp and its relief by land and by water (Books IX, X), then, a furious equestrian battle with the infantry forces of the Latins employed at a distance to prepare an ambush for the commander of the foe (Book XI), and, finally (Book XII), a great conflict which summarizes the main types of early warfare — infantry charges, leaders fighting from chariots, men engaged now on horseback, now on foot, the whole confused struggle reaching a dramatic conclusion in a hand-to-hand combat between the two protagonists, Aeneas and Turnus.

In spite of this increased variety the Roman poet has succeeded remarkably well in keeping the atmosphere of primitive times; he has not been betrayed

[11] 350–356.

into a mere reproduction of contemporary warfare. The fighting forces enlisted on Italian soil have the character of a great citizen-levy, raised for a particular campaign, as was true of the first Roman armies and as is generally the custom in early civilizations; the professional soldier, serving for pay and over a long period, characterized Vergil's own time. The word *legio* occurs only seven times in the Aeneid and always, save once, in its literal and primitive sense of 'the levy,' 'the host.' Thus it is used of the Trojans (9, 174; 10, 120; 12, 563), of Tarchon's Etruscans (8, 605), as well as of the whole Latin army (12, 121) and of Caeculus' troops, a *legio agrestis* (7, 681), which seems to have been composed largely of slingers. In only the remaining passage can we discover a possible example of the later technical use of *legio;* even here (9, 368) the slip was not unpardonable, for Roman tradition represented the legionary complement of horsemen as three hundred in the army of Romulus and in the Servian reorganization, as well as in the days of the Republic. The word *cohors* appears only four times in the Aeneid. In the first passage (3, 563) it is without military connotation, being used of the oarsmen, or, possibly, of the whole company, on board the Trojan ships off eastern Sicily. In the catalogue of Book VII *cohors* is used of one of the component parts of the mighty host of Sabine Clausus, *una ingens Amiterna cohors* (710); this phrase is, apparently, not more definite in meaning than 'a mighty band from Amiternum.' However, when the whole *cohors* of *regina Camilla* dismounts with her before Turnus (11, 500), it is easy to feel that Vergil is thinking of the general's bodyguard (*cohors*) of his own time; a much fainter trace of the same notion may explain the *stipata cohors*

(10, 328) of seven brothers, whose weapons alone saved Cydon from death.

There is a possible distinction in size between *ala* and *turma*. The former is generally used of the large equestrian forces,[12] the Arcadians (11, 835; 12, 551), the Etruscans (11, 730) and Camilla's horsemen (11, 604), whereas *turma*[13] is used of the Aeneades (exclusive of their Etruscan allies: 11, 503) and of the Latins (10, 239; 11, 518) who, like the Trojans, appear to have depended largely on their allies for mounted troops. The only passage in which *turma* is certainly a unit of troops drawn up for battle is 11, 599. So often is *caterva* used without any military connotation, merely to denote the attendants of a conspicuous figure (Laocoon 2, 40; Dido 1, 497, 4, 136; Aeneas, visiting his father's tomb, 5, 76; Amata 11, 478; Diana 11, 533), that we are not surprised in a war-context to find its use shifting from bodies of foot-soldiers to companies of horsemen; sometimes one suspects that the word has been chosen merely for metrical reasons (e.g., 7, 804; 11, 433; 8, 593).

We hear nothing of the elaborate division by *classes* on which rested the organization of the Servian army. Of the famous manipular system which characterized the Roman army of Vergil's time and had been in use for certainly two centuries before his day no real trace

[12] The fact that auxiliary troops were normally placed on the wings of the Roman army may also have influenced Vergil's choice of *ala* to designate these allied cavalry forces.

[13] The *turmae* which Asilas leads (11, 620) are evidently *equites* (cf. 623). If he is the Etruscan mentioned in 10, 175, we have here an exceptional case of *turma* used of Aeneas' allies. In 10, 310 *turmae* seems not to be used of cavalry forces, unless they are horsemen who, like those of Pallas, have had to dismount because of the roughness of the place (366).

appears in the Aeneid. In 11, 463 *maniplis* may possibly point a contrast between the Volscian foot-soldiers whom Volusus is to arm and the equestrian forces which Messapus and the Tiburtine brothers are to spread over the plain; but in verse 870, at the end of the account of the same battle, the word seems to be used of companies of horsemen (cf. 871).

In the battle-descriptions there is no hint of that orderly arrangement of the lines of *hastati, principes,* and *triarii* which was well developed in the wars of the third century B.C., no mention of the officers of such an army — tribunes, centurions, or decurions. The *phalanx* is assigned to the Greeks [14] at Troy (2, 254; 6, 489; 12, 544); in the account of the battle of Book XII *phalanx* is used of the Etruscans (551), and later (662), probably, of the Latin troops, but it is plain to the reader of the Aeneid that Vergil did not have in mind an arrangement so well-developed as the historic phalanx of the Spartans and the Macedonians.

The mention of military standards (*signa*) is not frequent. Heinze [15] attributes the existing cases to the poet's desire to give Roman coloring to his nar-

[14] Similarly, *phalanx* is suitably applied to the mourning procession which escorts home the body of Pallas (11, 92). It is, perhaps, not too fanciful to notice that the nine brothers who form the *animosa phalanx* of 12, 277 are sons of an Arcadian father. To Professor Grace H. Macurdy (*Troy and Paeonia* [1925], 46–56) is due the interesting conjecture that the ancestry of the Macedonian phalanx is to be found in the 'close-fighting' troops of the Trojans at Troy, and that this method of fighting had come from the European Dardanians and by them was passed on to their neighbors, the Macedonians. She notes that, among the Greeks, the Myrmidons are marshalled in phalanx-fashion (*Iliad* 16, 210–217) and that they, too, were from the north. Casson (*J.H.S.* 1926, 277) accepts Professor Macurdy's theory, and, in the case of the Greeks at Troy, supposes an even wider use of close-fighting than she has claimed. See also Murray, 154, 218–219.

[15] 196.

rative and mentions in this connection the signal for war which Turnus displays at the opening of hostilities (*Aen.* 8, 1). However, the *vexillum* was, traditionally, very ancient. We do not know how early *signa* were employed, but their use must have been greatly increased by the introduction of the manipular organization of the troops. As a matter of fact, Vergil mentions *signa* only a few times [16] in the expressions *signa ferre* (7, 628; 8, 498), *signa conferre* (11, 517), *signa sequi* (8, 52; 10, 258), *signa vellere* (11, 19). They are distributed impartially among the Latin forces (including the Volscians), the Arcadians, and the Trojans. In at least one case (8, 52) there is no real military coloring; the Arcadians who followed Evander to Italy are spoken of as *signa secuti.* It is probable that these phrases had so crystallized by Vergil's time that they had hardly more color than our expressions 'march,' 'come together,' 'follow,' 'start.' This is not, however, an adequate explanation in the case of 7, 628, and it is interesting to note that this verse is immediately followed by a markedly anachronistic account of the mass-production of weapons, with five cities designated as munitions-centres for the Latin army.

Notable is the slightness of the defenses of Latinus' city as compared with those of Aeneas' camp, which, as Carcopino [17] reminds us, has the permanent character of "une *urbs* véritable," the new Troy to which Fate has been leading the Trojans. The simple methods of attack [18] employed by the Latins are vain

[16] I have not included in the text 6, 825 (where *signa referre* means 'to bring home,' 'to recover' the standards) or 7, 606. In these cases there is, of course, no anachronism.

[17] 408–452.

[18] Mainly the use of burning brands, though the Volscians form

against such a camp with its *muri* (9, 37, etc.), *moenia* (9, 39, etc.), *agger* (7, 159; 9, 43, etc.), *fossae* (7, 157; 9, 143, etc.), *turres, cavae* (9, 46) and *altae* (9, 470; 10, 121, etc.). The lack of preparation against sudden assault is the more surprising in the case of a king who has such resources as Latinus plainly has. Yet the casual introduction of the complicated movable tower (12, 674–675) with its storeys and *pontes*, of which Julius Caesar himself might have been proud, warns us not to assume that the city was so slightly protected as it seems. Possibly Vergil wished, by the omission of such details in general, to bring out the king's characteristic inadequacy to the situation, or, more probably, he was aiming at a contrast between the simple character of Italian warfare and the more expert technique of the older peoples from the East. Aeneas, arriving at his besieged camp, faces the *turmae agrestes* (10, 310) of the enemy; the famous speech of Numanus Remulus (9, 598–620) is the *locus classicus* for the life of primitive Italy, but it must be confessed that the picture is not always consistently simple.

Heinze has reminded us of the Roman color supplied by the introduction of the *spolia opima* (6, 855; 10, 449); he finds Vergil's warriors, on the whole, less brutal and arrogant in arming themselves with spoils than are the Homeric fighters. Warde Fowler [19] holds, on the basis of S. Reinach's study, that such abstinence was probably due to a superstition that the spoils were taboo and had magic power to injure the new wearer, as the *balteus* of Pallas brought death

---

a *testudo*, try to fill the *fossae*, destroy the *vallum*, and use ladders (9, 505–507).

[19] *Aeneas*, 95–96; *Turnus*, 155–156.

to Turnus. Another case, which seems to have escaped notice in this connection, is found in 2, 387–430, where death at the hands of their own countrymen ironically befalls those Trojans who have put on the spoils taken from slain Greeks. It seems significant that both Evander (8, 562) and Aeneas (11, 193–194) are represented as burning weapons which have been taken in great quantities from an enemy.

The old Roman custom of hurling a spear into the enemy's territory as a sign of beginning war (Livy 1, 32, 13–14) is recognized by commentators as applying to the case of Turnus at the camp of Aeneas (9, 52). One might add to this the similar instance in Book XII where the augur, Tolumnius, bids the Rutuli follow him as leader, and then, running forward, precipitates the battle by hurling his cornel-wood spear into the midst of the enemy (12, 258–268).

A comparison of the Italian forces with the invading Trojans and their allies[20] shows that Vergil has assigned to the former all the arms which he has given to Aeneas' men, but that among the troops of Turnus there are, in addition, many instances of more unusual equipment. For example, some have shields with wicker framework (7, 632–633); one of their leaders has for a helmet a lion's head (7, 666); some of Caeculus' men wear tawny *galeri* of wolfskin (7, 688); the Campanians have helmets of cork-bark, with shields and swords of bronze (7, 742–743). Caeculus' slingers have the left foot bare and the right foot shod with the *crudus pero* (7, 689–690).[21]

[20] Evander's Arcadians, Etruscans from Mantua, Clusium, and southern and coastal Etruria, some Ligurians (8, 518–519; 10, 163–214).

[21] Fowler, *Clans*, 60–61, explains this custom as due to the fact

The wooden spear, *immane* and *solidum nodis et robore cocto*[22] (11, 552–553), belongs to Camilla's father; clubs, stakes, and poles are used as weapons by the Latin forces much more than by Aeneas' men. On the Latin side alone we find the *teretes aclydes,* the *caetra* and the *falcati enses* (7, 730–732), the *cateia* (7, 741), the *pilum,* the *dolo* and *veru Sabellum* (7, 664–665), the *phalarica* (9, 705).[23] Heinze[24] calls attention to the fact that, with one exception, the *phalarica,*[25] these strange articles are mentioned only in the catalogue of Book VII, never in connection with the subsequent fighting. When the axe is used as a weapon, it is wielded only by Turnus' followers, and, where its use is described, the warrior splits the skull of his adversary. The sling with lead bullets is found only on the Latin side. Yet in appraising all this evidence we must remember that the catalogue of Aeneas' allies makes slight mention of equipment, whereas the poet has elaborated the Latin roster until it suggests a great pageant. It is interesting to note that in the Iliad there is no such attempt to differentiate the equipment of the opposing armies.

The metals used for the *arma* are gold, bronze, iron, silver, lead, electrum, orichalcum.[26] We hear

---

that the slinger "needs a left foot as free as possible, to grip the ground as he discharges his missile" with his right hand.

[22] It is uncertain whether the wood has been hardened in the fire or is simply seasoned wood.

[23] For the nature of these strange weapons see below, pages 147–153, 162–164, 166, 170–171.

[24] 201–202.

[25] Heinze attributes its introduction to the influence of Ennius, for one of the fragments of the *Annales* (544, Vahlen) runs: Quae valide veniunt . . . falarica missa.

[26] Chalybs (8, 446) also is available when work is begun on the arms of Aeneas in the workshop of Vulcan. Non-metallic materials used for *arma* are wicker, wood, skins, cork, ivory, linen.

nothing of tin,[27] which is so prominent in the descriptions of the arms of Achilles.

Very striking is the amount of gold in the equipment. This is particularly true of the Latin side, where not only is gold mentioned in connection with the *arma* of individuals, for the *bullae* of the *cingula* of Rhamnes (9, 359–360), which was obviously a kind of heirloom, for the greaves (11, 488), *lorica* (12, 87), and helmet (9, 50) of Turnus, and for the bow of Camilla (11, 652), but a *lorica* triple-linked with gold seems not an unusual corselet for a Latin soldier (7, 639–640), while fourteen hundred Latin guards are described as *auro corusci* (9, 163), and gold is used to caparison the horses which Latinus gives to Aeneas' *oratores* (7, 278–279). While archaeological research has amply confirmed the accuracy of the Homeric phrase, 'Mycenae rich in gold' (*Iliad* 7, 180; 11, 46) and has uncovered many gold objects like those described in the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Italic tombs of prehistoric Latium have revealed little of the precious metal. In his prodigal use of gold, then, Vergil seems either frankly to have imitated Homer or to have been influenced by some knowledge of the splendid contents of such rich Etruscan tombs as those of the seventh century found at Praeneste and of even earlier tombs in Etruria proper. As Rome's military indebtedness to Etruria[28] was great in early times, so later she borrowed extensively from Samnium[29] in the matter of organization, equipment, and tactics. It is interest-

[27] Seymour (301) says it is mentioned six times in the description of the arms of Achilles, twice in connection with Agamemnon's armor, once as on the cuirass of Asteropaeus, and once as part of the decoration of the chariot of Diomede.

[28] E. S. McCartney, 121–167; Meyer, 231.

[29] Meyer, 231–261.

ing to recall in this connection a battle of the year 308 B.C. in which, Livy (9, 40) tells us, of two divisions of the Samnites one corps had shields inlaid with gold, the other shields inlaid with silver. In his study of Oscan wall-paintings Weege [30] found yellow used for belts, weapons and ornaments; he believes this color to represent gold or gilded material.

Bronze is used in the Aeneid for corselets, axes, swords, shields and helmets. It is still more conspicuous than gold in the equipment of the Latin troops. Apart from several individual cases of bronze arms the squadrons of Camilla 'bloom with bronze' (11, 433), the lines of Messapus are bronze-clad (7, 703), and Oebalus' Oscan contingent flashes in shields and swords of bronze (7, 742–743). The only specific pieces of bronze armor mentioned as worn by Trojans are the *lorica* of Aeneas (8, 621) and his *clipeus* (10, 887), on the latter of which other metals were also used (cf. 8, 445–451, 655, 659–661, 672–673, 701). However, the forces which set out from Evander's city to go with Aeneas to Tarchon's camp are described as *fulgentes aere catervae* (8, 593); they were probably Arcadians with an admixture of Trojans (8, 518–519, 551, 585–593).

*Ferrum* is a very common word in the Aeneid. Occasionally it is merely the metal, iron; sometimes it plainly stands for sword, spear, axe, arrow-point; often the indefinite 'weapon' is the only safe rendering. Both armies have axes and swords of iron. All this is in marked contrast with the very rare use of iron in the Homeric Poems,[31] where bronze is the regu-

[30] *Oskische Grabmalerei,* in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 24 (1909), 99–162.

[31] In strong contrast with bronze, which is mentioned more than 320 times in the Iliad, iron is mentioned only twenty-three times.

lar metal for weapons. The setting of the Iliad and the Odyssey in the late Bronze Age is obviously earlier than the setting of the Aeneid.

Silver is very rare on both sides. It is used for the greaves of the Latins (7, 634) and for part of the rich ornamentation on the *clipeus*[32] of Aeneas. Homer, too, mentions silver much less often than gold. Indeed, it is much rarer in tombs, whether Mycenaean or Etruscan, perhaps because it is so susceptible of oxidation.

Lead, which is mentioned only twice[33] in the Homeric Poems, is used in the Aeneid for bullets hurled from a sling.

Electrum, which, perhaps in this case a metal, gleams from the walls of Menelaus' palace in Sparta (*Odyssey* 4, 73), is used in the Aeneid along with gold for the greaves of Aeneas (8, 624), and Vulcan has much more of it at his disposal (8, 402).

---

Besides its figurative employment (a 'heart of iron,' 'the iron might of fire,' etc.) it is used in the description of imaginary objects, such as the gates of Tartarus (8, 15) and the axle of Hera's chariot (5, 723), while among men it is used for barter and for tools, but perhaps only twice for weapons, the arrow-head of Pandarus (4, 123) and the mace of Areithous (7, 141; perhaps here it is used only for iron knobs on a wooden club). Possibly the iron with which it was feared that Achilles would cut his throat (18, 34) was that which was used for cutting the throats of the cattle at the funeral ceremonies of Patroclus (23, 30) and was a kind of dagger. The axes of 4, 485 and 23, 851 are not necessarily weapons. Figurative seems to be the use of the word in 17, 424–425, where "the iron din < of battle > went up through the unresting air to the brazen heaven." Cf. Seymour, 283, 299–300, 667–668, 670.

[32] Especially for the *argenteus anser* (8, 655) and the dolphins (8, 673). In the games of Book V a *bipennis caelata argento* (307) is offered as a prize.

[33] In *Iliad* 24, 80, as a sinker on a fishline, in 11, 237, as a standard of pliancy.

Pale *orichalcum* with gold forms the rough surface of Turnus' *lorica* (12, 87).

In the following detailed discussion of the arms mentioned in the Aeneid it will be convenient to consider them under the two natural divisions, Arms of Offense and Arms of Defense.

## I. Arms of Offense

### *A. Missile Weapons of the Spear-type*

As one might expect from its simple construction, the spear is a particularly common weapon in early warfare.[34] In the Aeneid it is most often called *hasta,* but interchangeable with *hasta* are *hastile, iaculum,* and *cuspis,* while *spiculum* seems to be used for 'javelin,' 'dart' even more than for 'arrow.' Camilla pierces Euneus with a long pine shaft (*longa abiete*) in the battle of Book XI (667), though she carried in the pageant of Book VII the pastoral myrtle *praefixa cuspide* (817). Trojan Pandarus hurls at Turnus a *hasta* rough with knots and unpeeled bark (9, 743–744), while Turnus slays Antiphates with an iron-tipped *iaculum* of Italian cornel-wood (9, 698–701) and Pallas with an oak shaft tipped with sharp iron (10, 479). Twice the missile is possibly all of iron, in the case of Pallas (10, 421) and of one of the sons of Arcadian Gylippus (12, 278–282), unless the descriptions of both these weapons are to be explained as examples of synecdoche. The Tuscan hunter, Ornytus, uses his rustic hunting-spear in battle (11, 682) and Numanus Remulus (brother-in-law of Turnus), in describing the strenuous life of his people,

[34] McCartney, 124–125.

who must be ready to turn quickly from agriculture to war, says (9, 609–610):

> Omne aevum ferro teritur, versaque iuvencum
> terga fatigamus hasta. . . .

Wooden stakes with points hardened in the fire (*sudibus praeustis,* 7, 524) are mentioned,[35] and *robore duro stipites* and *sudes obustae* (11, 893–894) are hurled at the enemy by the women of Latinus' city. The iron spear-point is frequently referred to (e.g., 9, 410–413, 698–701; 10, 479–480; 12, 488–489). This is what we should expect, judging from the contents of Italic and Etruscan tombs in general. Striking is the absence of any reference to bronze lance-heads in Books VII–XII, for they are not uncommon in the tombs of early Latium and Etruria. Vergil could hardly have been unaware that in this particular he was departing from the usage of the Homeric Poems, where the spear-point was regularly of bronze.[36] Again, the variety of woods employed for the spear-shaft in the Aeneid is in marked contrast with Homer's ashen spear for Achaeans and Trojans. Conventional epithets are much more sparingly applied to the spear by Vergil and, when they are used, show much less repetition than in Homer. Possibly we have in 7, 687–688, 9, 586, and 12, 165, 489–490 reminiscences of a time when the warrior regularly carried a reserve spear. Achates is to furnish several spears to Aeneas in 10, 333.

Once the defenders of the Trojan camp 'bend their eager bows and whirl their *ammenta*' (9, 665). Servius says (on 662) that *ammenta torquent* is here equivalent to 'they hurl their spears by means of the leathern thongs,' the thong being fastened to the

[35] See page 141, n. 22. [36] Seymour, 298–301, 664.

middle of the spear and used for hurling the weapon. One recalls Caesar's device (*De Bello Gallico* 5, 48) for getting a message to Q. Cicero, who was being besieged by the Nervii; he told a horseman to fasten the letter to the *ammentum* and to hurl the *tragula* within the fortifications. Seymour[37] says that no mention of such a leather thong is made by Homer. Prosper Mérimée in 1860 reported[38] an example of its use by a warrior on a panathenaic amphora in the British Museum.

Almost a quarter of a century later there came to light a very ancient bronze plaque[39] from a Gallic inhumation-tomb at Watsch in the Julian Alps. On this plaque a battle-scene is depicted and the javelin with *ammentum* is shown in operation, at two different stages. In one case a warrior has grasped the thong between his index and middle fingers (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12, 321) and is starting to hurl at his adversary the spear, which is horizontally poised. In the other case the spear has already left the warrior's hand and is darting through the air. On neither the amphora nor the plaque is the thong just at the middle of the long spear, as Servius says; on the amphora it is a little farther from the point, on the plaque it is a little nearer to the point. Since this type of missile is employed by the Trojans, it is interesting to note, as Bertrand has done, that Livy (37, 41, 4) records its use among the soldiers of Antiochus in Asia Minor and that Silius Italicus (*Punica* 9, 509) has assigned it to Carthaginians.

Much more troublesome are some of the weapons mentioned in 7, 664–665, in the Latin catalogue:

[37] 665.

[38] *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série,* 2 (1860), 210–211.

[39] A. Bertrand, *Revue Archéologique, Troisième Série,* 3 (1884), 103–105.

Pila manu saevosque gerunt in bella dolones,
et tereti pugnant mucrone veruque Sabello.

As the text stands, the weapons must be assigned to the followers of Aventinus, who was born on the hill of that name. It is not clear why the Aventine should have any Sabine connections, as is implied in 665 (*veruque Sabello*). Meyer [40] explains the mystery by deriving *Aventinus* from a Sabine stream, *Avens*. Warde Fowler [41] presents some good reasons for transferring verses 664–669 to a position immediately following 749, where Sabine troops are being described, but he concedes that there is no palaeographical argument for doubting the traditional order.

There are two main types of interpretation for verses 664–665. According to the first type, the warriors are represented as carrying two kinds of weapons, *pila* and *dolones*, and as fighting (a) with two others, a sword (*tereti mucrone*) and lance (*veru Sabello*), or (b) with one other weapon, if we see an example of hendiadys in verse 665, and render by the 'tapering-tipped Sabellian dart.' According to the other type of explanation, only two different weapons are mentioned in the passage; the *pila* and the *dolones* which the soldiers carry are the same weapons with which they fight, but they are taken up in chiastic order in 665. This interpretation is said by Servius (on 664) to be a favorite with many; it is confirmed by the excellent authority of the Verona scholia.[42] Obviously, the *pilum* with its barbed point and traditional Samnite origin might well be referred to as a

[40] 237. Meyer is following Varro (see Servius on 7, 657).

[41] *Clans*, 46–50.

[42] ET TERETI PUGNANT MUCRONE dolonem significat . . . , per verum Sabellum pila.

*veru Sabellum.* It remains for us to find if the *dolo* could be called a *teres mucro.*

Servius himself does not know exactly what the *dolo* was, but he offers a choice of two meanings, both of which are in harmony with the supposed derivation of the word from the Greek δόλων, for both imply concealed danger. He says: dolo est aut flagellum, intra cuius virgam latet pugio: aut secundum Varronem ingens contus cum ferro brevissimo. But again, as Meyer[43] points out, the valuable scholia of the Verona palimpsest come to our aid, defining *dolo* as a sword (dolo dicitur gladius acutissimi et tenu- [issimi ferri . . . ]).[44] To this definition the phrase, *tereti mucrone,* would apply excellently. Furthermore, in Plutarch (*Tiberius Gracchus* 10, 7) we read that, because of the well-known plots of assassins, Tiberius Gracchus wore a concealed short sword of the sort which brigands carried, which was called a δόλων, and Suetonius (*Domitianus* 17, 1) tells how a steward who wished to kill Domitian wrapped his own left arm in bandages, pretending that he had injured it but really that he might thus conceal a *dolo* for his murderous purpose.

In the present state of our knowledge it seems, then, more reasonable to accept the view defended by Meyer that in verses 664–665 we have only two weapons, the *pilum* (= *veru Sabellum*) and the *dolo* (= *teres mucro*), a short, pointed sword or dagger.[45]

[43] 237, n. 6.

[44] There follows a mutilated passage in which, apparently, Vergil is made to assign Aventinus to the Samnites: Quid ita autem sic illos armavit, nisi si vult illum Samnitibus es. . . . dolones nam ligneis capulis. . . . The mention of the hilt seems to confirm the explanation of *dolo* as a sword.

[45] 237. If we accept Varro's definition of the *dolo* as *ingens contus,* etc., and assume that four weapons are mentioned (7, 664–

It is interesting to note that this is the only mention of the *pilum*[46] in the Aeneid, though in Vergil's day it was the regular missile of the Roman legionary and had, indeed, with the introduction of the manipular system, become his chief missile.

To the troops of Halaesus, which come, in the main, from upper Campania, another strange weapon is assigned, the *aclys teres;* this time the poet himself gives us a clue to its nature (7, 730–731):

> Teretes sunt aclydes illis
> tela, sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello.

Servius says that these weapons had long been obsolete, but that accounts of them existed; that they were a kind of club (*clava*), one and one half cubits long, with points projecting on this side and on that, that the club was bound with a leathern thong or with linen in such a way that it could be drawn back to the sender when it had accomplished its purpose. How such a device was operated in battle is not clear.[47] Doubtless in imitation of Vergil, Silius Italicus (8, 550) has assigned the *aclys* to his Campanians, but he has also given it to the Spanish troops of Hannibal (3, 363). A phrase in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus (6, 99 *gemina aclyde*) leaves us in doubt as to whether the weapon was used singly or in

---

665), we overload the soldier with missiles (*pilum, dolo, veru Sabellum*); if we assume only two weapons (i.e., make *pilum* equivalent to *veru Sabellum* and *dolo* equivalent to *teres mucro*), we cannot conceive of such a weapon as this second one would be, *ingens contus cum ferro brevissimo, teres mucro!*

[46] It has, of course, long been understood that *pilata . . . agmina* (12, 121–122) means, not 'lines armed with the pilum,' but 'lines in close formation.' See Servius and other commentators *ad loc.* and, especially, Meyer, 253–254.

[47] Mackail (*J.R.S.* 3 [1913], 3) believes that the weapon was "a form of boomerang."

pairs. The word itself is of foreign origin; it is generally assumed to be of Greek derivation (compare ἀγκυλίς, 'hook,' 'barb'), though this is not certain.

Milani[48] thinks that an example of the *aclys* may be identified in a deposit of bronze models of weapons and other votive objects found at Telamon, where in 225 B.C. the Celts were defeated with terrible carnage by the Romans and their allies. The weapon in question consists of a slender stem ending in a triple-barbed head like that of a medieval halberd. The lower end of the stem is wedge-shaped as if it were made to fit into a wooden shaft. In the three-barbed points Milani sees a correspondence to the description of Servius, eminentibus hinc et hinc acuminibus; if the weapon had a thong, as Vergil and Servius say, it would have been on the wooden shaft, but *clava* is hardly the word which one would apply to this slender weapon, at least to the portion of it which was found at Telamon. Weege[49] finds that the Oscan tomb-paintings confirm Vergil's statement (*sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello*), in that most of the lances there depicted are provided with straps for throwing. Weege finds there possible models for the *aclys* in two different types of missile. One in a Paestum painting is a kind of club ("Keule") with a ring at one end, the sort of weapon which, made of iron, was actually found in the same tomb with the painting; the other is a short arrow-like spear with long, thin point and strap for throwing. Neither of these models corresponds to Servius' phrase, eminentibus hinc et hinc acuminibus.

To the contingent from lower Campania a strange

[48] *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica* 1 (1899–1901), 134, Figure 21.

[49] 157–158 (cf. n. 30).

weapon, the *cateia* (7, 741), is assigned. It is clearly a missile, but, in spite of the statement of the Daniel-Servius, it is, in all probability, not of the spear-type. It will be discussed later, under the battle-axe.

The *phalarica* is the last of the missiles which are peculiar to the Latin side. As has been said (page 141), it is the only one of the strange weapons which is actually used in battle (see page 141, n. 25). Turnus hurls it in the fighting of Book IX (705). He does not attack his giant adversary with the *iaculum* because that would have been inadequate (704):

> sed magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit,
> fulminis acta modo, quam nec duo taurea terga
> nec duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro
> sustinuit: collapsa ruunt immania membra.

The *phalarica* was not an obsolete weapon when Vergil wrote; we know what it was like in historical times. It resembled a very heavy *pilum* from whose wooden shaft projected a long iron head. In the defense of Saguntum the inhabitants wrapped tow around this iron head, which was three feet long, smeared the tow with pitch, and hurled the burning weapon upon the enemy (Livy 21, 8, 10–12: cf. Silius, *Punica* 1, 350–355). Sometimes this heavy missile was discharged like a projectile from an engine of war. This is the possibility suggested in the account of Pompey's attack on Caesar's outworks at Dyrrachium (Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6, 198–201: I give the Teubner text):

> hunc aut tortilibus vibrata phalarica nervis
> obruat aut vasti muralia pondera saxi,
> hunc aries ferro ballistaque limine torta
> promoveat.

But in the primitive conditions depicted in the Aeneid the implication is that Turnus' strength is so great that he can hurl the weapon by hand.

The derivation [50] of *phalarica* (*falarica*) is too uncertain to enable us to say whether the fire was an essential characteristic of the weapon. One gets the impression that it was, from Livy's account of the operations at Saguntum, and that is true also of the description of sieges in Vegetius (*De Re Militari* 4, 18). Vergil's phrase, *fulminis acta modo,* might suggest the lightning's flash as well as its speed, but, if the poet had meant to include the fire, he would probably not have failed to describe its effect on the unfortunate Bitias, for that was the special terror of the *phalarica* at Saguntum. Probably it was originally only a heavy javelin or hunting-spear, as Saglio [51] suggests, for it is mentioned by Grattius Faliscus (*Cynegetica* 342) among the *arma* of the devotees of the chase.

### *B. Bow and Arrows*

In the Aeneid, as in the Iliad, the bow is used by both armies. Not until later times do we meet that prejudice against it as a barbarian weapon which was felt by both Greeks and Romans. However, as these western peoples came into contact with barbarians who fought with the bow, they were obliged to recognize its importance, not actually adopting it themselves but depending upon their allies for contingents of bowmen. The first mention of *sagittarii* in the Roman army is in connection with the Second Punic

[50] The ancient derivation from *fala* is seriously discussed by Walde, but that *fala,* as a tower from which burning weapons are discharged, can be related to φάλιος (' light,' ' white ') he doubts.

[51] Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 962, s.v. falarica.

War in 207 B.C. (Livy 27, 38, 12); then they are employed against Perseus (Livy 43, 7, 1–2) and in Asiatic wars (Livy 37, 39, 10). In Vergil's own day Cicero used many bowmen in Cilicia (*Fam.* 15, 4, 10) and Julius Caesar employed Numidian and Cretan bowmen in Gaul (*Bellum Gallicum* 2, 7, 1; 2, 10, 1), Itureans and Syrians in Africa (*Bellum Africanum* 20, 1), but not until the days of the Empire were the *sagittarii* regularized in the army, when Roman interests required the policing of large territories, whose uncivilized inhabitants were skilled in the use of the bow.

To Camilla, in her Amazonian character, this weapon is especially suitable. She has (11, 652) a bow of gold (see below), with a Lycian quiver (7, 816), and discharges her *spicula* in true Parthian fashion (11, 654). The retreating Latin forces carry back their bows, unstrung, on their tired shoulders (11, 874). The youths who are exercising before Latinus' city are bending *acres arcus* (7, 164), as well as boxing, racing, hurling darts, riding horseback, and driving the chariot. The bow may be a part of Juturna's equipment (12, 815). Helbig [52] describes a fragment of a terra cotta frieze of the sixth century B.C. from Conca in Latium, on which a mounted warrior swings a lance and his mounted attendant stretches his bow against a pursuing enemy. Helbig also cites the form, *arquites,* as evidence of the very early use of the bow in Italy. Ascanius' bowstring is called *nervus equinus* [53] (9, 622); *nervus* [54] alone is used for

[52] 281–282 (cf. n. 7).

[53] Fairclough (Loeb Classical Library Translation) translates by "horse-hair string"; others render by "horse-gut string." Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 1, 2, 21.

[54] Cf. *νεῦρα βόεια* (*Iliad* 4, 122) and *'απὸ νευρῆφιν* (*Iliad* 21, 113).

bowstring in 10, 131. The gorgeously equipped priest of Cybele, Chloreus (11, 774), has a golden bow (see below). The Trojans, excited by Ascanius' first brilliant essay at war, check him, but, rushing in more madly themselves, *intendunt acris arcus ammentaque torquent* (9, 665). In particular, the bow and arrow constitute the sole equipment of the one thousand *iuvenes* from Cosae and Clusium (10, 168–169). A. J. Reinach[55] cites numerous cases of Etruscan frescoes, terra cottas, and bronzes which confirm the use of bow and arrow in Etruria. The quiver of these particular Etruscan troops in Vergil is not the usual *pharetra,* but the *gorytus* (10, 169).[56] This word *gorytus* occurs only here in Vergil.

The common name for the bow is *arcus,* but *cornu* also occurs in that sense; this probably indicates that horn[57] was often used, wholly or in part, for bows. The *aureus arcus* of Camilla (11, 652) and, in particular, that of Chloreus (11, 774) may have been of horn and have merely been ornamented with gold.

The arrow is often *sagitta;* but *calamus, harundo* and *spicula*[58] are also used of the arrow. *Ferrum* is used of the arrow-point which has lodged in Aeneas' wound (12, 403) and also of Ascanius' arrow-head which has pierced the temples of Numanus Remulus (9, 631–633). Phrygian Chloreus has Gortynian arrows (11, 773), and Trojan Anchises, on a visit to

[55] Daremberg and Saglio, 4, 999, s.v. sagitta.

[56] The *gorytus* seems to have been, strictly, a case for the bow, but sometimes to have had in addition a compartment for the arrows (cf. Servius on *Aen.* 10, 169 and Daremberg and Saglio, 1, 390, where splendid examples of such quivers of Greek workmanship are said to have been found in the tombs of barbarian kings).

[57] Odysseus' bow was of horn (*Odyssey* 21, 395); that of Lycian Pandarus was made of the great horns of a wild mountain-goat (*Iliad* 4, 105): cf. Seymour, 668–670.

[58] Plural, even of one arrow, e.g., 7, 497; 12, 403.

Arcadia, had once presented to the youthful Evander a quiver of Lycian arrows (8, 166–167). The arrows that 'glide on wings' (9, 578; 12, 319) may have had feathers attached to them to guide their course. Lydian Ismarus uses poisoned arrows (10, 140) and Amycus knows their use (9, 772–773); we hear of such arrows among Parthians and Cydonians (12, 857–858), but there is no mention of them among the Latin forces. In *The Rise of the Greek Epic*,[3] 129–130, Gilbert Murray has some interesting comments on the absence of poisoned arrows from the warfare of the Iliad in face of the fact that the primitive inhabitants of Greece almost certainly poisoned their arrow-heads. He regards the phenomenon as one of numerous evidences of a careful expurgation of the cruel practices which came to be associated with inferior races.

In considering the above material one is struck by the fact that Vergil makes no mention of stone arrow-points, for they abound in that splendid collection of arrow-heads gathered from all parts of Italy which is to be seen in the Museo Preistorico at Rome. Nor does Vergil speak of bronze arrow-points, of which the same collection furnishes many beautiful examples, for instance from the Bronze Age in Lombardy. On the other hand, the iron arrow-point, which he does mention (see above), seems to be somewhat rare in prehistoric burials, possibly because so small an object in this metal might easily perish by oxidation in the course of centuries. In singling out iron for mention Vergil was hardly influenced by Homer, for the iron arrow-head of Lycian Pandarus is the only one of its kind in the Iliad, where bronze is usually employed for this purpose.[59]

[59] Seymour, 670.

### *C. Funda and Glandes*

Of the rustic followers of Praenestine Caeculus, whose equipment is particularly simple, the largest part scatter bullets of livid lead (7, 686–687). In the thick of the fight Mezentius drops his spear and cleaves the temples of his adversary with a lead bullet sent from a sling which he whirled three times around his head (9, 586–589). Even as a child Camilla had brought down Strymonian grouse and white swans with her smooth-thonged sling (11, 578–580). It has already been noted (page 141) that all these instances of the use of the *funda* are on the Latin side.

There are in the Homeric Poems no unmistakable cases of the use of the sling, though twice in one book (*Iliad* 13, 600, 716) occur probable references to this weapon. That its use in Greece goes back to Mycenaean times is plain from the well-known fragment of a silver vase [60] now in the National Museum in Athens, on which slingers, as well as bowmen, are taking part in the siege of a city. The *funda* is a very primitive kind of weapon, and Vergil may have introduced it as such.[61] It was employed by the soldiers of the fifth *classis* in the Servian army and continued to be used under the Republic, but its importance increased after the Second Punic War, when the Romans came to know Hannibal's Balearic and Moorish slingers.

[60] For reproductions see Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1363, Figure 3323; Seymour, 630, Figure 23; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, Figure 41. For a slinger of Trajan's times, see Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1363, Figure 3327. Cf. Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 1, 16: In omnibus autem veterum proeliis funditores militasse nullus ignorat.

[61] That the Etruscans used the sling in the chase is plain from the frescoes of the Tomba dei Cacciatori at Corneto (J. Martha, *L'Art Étrusque* [1889], 399–400, Figure 272: Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1366, Figure 3329).

The *funditores* were regularly furnished by the *auxilia,* but, since sometimes in a siege the legionary soldier helped himself out with the *funda,*[62] Heinze[63] sees a touch of Roman color in Mezentius' resort to this weapon (see above) in the attack on the camp of Aeneas.

### *D. Extemporized Missiles*

Rocks are used as weapons of warfare on both sides. Lagus tries to hurl one at Pallas (10, 381); Halaesus smites Thoas in the face with a stone, breaking open his skull (10, 415–416); Mezentius hurls a great piece of a mountain in the face of Latagus (10, 698–699), and Turnus seizes an ancient boundary-stone to hurl at Aeneas (12, 896–907). On the Trojan side stones are used to defend the walls of the camp against the Volsci (9, 512) and the Rutuli (10, 127–130), and in the battle of Book XII Aeneas hurls a rock to dislodge Murranus from his chariot (12, 529–534). Seymour[64] calls attention to the fact that stones were well recognized missiles in Homeric battles; chieftains and even the goddess Athena (*Iliad* 21, 403) do not disdain to make use of them. The examples from Greek tragedy which Seymour adds to show the survival of this primitive custom might be supplemented by others from the historians. Besides the slingers there were in the fifth class of the Servian army men who carried stones, and we have on Trajan's Column[65] evidence of the use of this weapon in Imperial times. Even after machines had come into use for discharg-

[62] Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 57, 4; Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 1, 16.

[63] 203. [64] 672.

[65] Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1365–1366.

ing such missiles we find Vegetius (*De Re Militari* 1, 16; 2, 23; 3, 14) recommending that the *iuniores* practice the hurling of stones by hand.

The clubmen, too, lasted on in the auxiliary forces of the Roman army. McCartney[66] reminds us of their prominence in the reliefs of Trajan's Column, where in one place they are even drawn up in ranks. Their weapons became more and more brutal, being studded with knobs or points of iron, but Vergil is plainly thinking of the primitive wooden club, the *clava* of Hercules (10, 318–322). This simple type of *clava* (10, 318), *stipites* and *sudes obustae* (11, 894) are found on the Latin side, but the *contus* (9, 510) is used by the Trojans to push down from the walls of their camp the Volscians. While the club is not actually employed in the battles of the Iliad, its use was known (*Iliad* 7, 138), at least to Nestor.

With the *fax* both armies set fire to the enemy's property. The *torris ambustus* (12, 298) which Trojan Corynaeus dashes in the face of Ebysus is still on fire. One cannot be sure that this is true of the *sudes obustae* (11, 894; cf. 7, 506) which the Latin women hurl from the walls of their city; we may have here the primitive spear, a shaft of wood with one end hardened in the fire (see above, page 146).

### *E. The Battle-Axe*

Under primitive conditions a domestic implement may easily become a weapon of war. Thus, Silvia's father, in the act of splitting a great oak tree, hears the sudden call to arms and hastens to respond with his *securis* (7, 510). Many axes must have been in the possession of both armies when they cut the tim-

[66] 123.

ber for the enormous funeral pyres in Book XI (133–138, 184–187; cf. 6, 180). In the capture of Troy Pyrrhus had used the *bipennis* to break open the doors of Priam's palace (2, 479), but the axe as a weapon against an adversary is associated with the Latin forces. In the general preparations for war, at the end of Book VII, the Latins burnish their shields and javelins with fat, and sharpen their *secures* (7, 627) on the whetstone. In true Amazonian fashion Camilla has, as part of her equipment, a mighty *bipennis* (11, 651). She herself splits the skull of Orsilochus with a powerful *securis* (11, 696), while one of her companions, Tarpeia, brandishes an *aerata securis* (11, 656). The shepherd, Alsus, cleaves the brow and chin of Trojan Podalirius with a *securis* (12, 306). While Tarpeia's axe was of bronze, the iron *bipennis* seems to have been used in cutting down trees in Book XI (135), and at the games in Book V Aeneas offered as one of the prizes a *bipennis* which is described as *caelata argento* (307).

There is no mention of stone axes in the Aeneid, though at least two have been found at Rome on the Esquiline [67] and they are not uncommon in the Latian tombs of the Late Stone and Copper Ages.[68]

Scant as is our material from Bronze Age tombs in Latium, Pinza [69] notes as characteristic of the earlier part of the period the flat bronze axes with raised margins, while to the latter part belong the bronze axes with wings at the sides. Especially common and well-distributed through Latium are those with long wings; this type lasts on into the Iron Age.

In view of the general use of the axe by the troops from Latium (7, 627) special interest attaches to a

[67] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 266a, b.
[68] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 13–31.
[69] *M.A.* 15, 34–38.

terra cotta relief from Velletri, described by Helbig,[70] showing three pairs of mounted warriors in pursuit, each pair consisting of a fighter with helmet and round shield accompanied by his attendant without any weapon. Two of the three warriors swing a weapon in the right hand, the first a battle-axe, the second a short sword; the weapon of the third is lost. Helbig points out that the axe is specifically Italian, as the Greek army of this period (the terra cotta is of the sixth century B.C.) did not use it, though it had been common in Mycenaean times. On the other hand, the axe is common in Etruria from the end of the eighth or the early seventh century to the fourth century B.C. Not a few examples of bronze axes could be cited from Etruscan tombs of great antiquity, e.g., two of a very primitive type from the Warrior Tomb [71] at Corneto, and two, ornamented with concentric circles, enclosed by incised lines, from the Circle of the Trident [72] at Vetulonia.

Again, from a warrior's grave at Vetulonia [73] two iron axes may be cited and, from a point nearer to Rome, an iron hatchet and an iron axe listed in the Curtis Inventory of the Bernardini Tomb (No. 89).

Among the representations of the battle-axe in Etruscan art perhaps one thinks first of the *bipennis*

[70] 282–283, Figure 5 (cf. n. 7). Cf. Milani, 1, 104, Figure 10 (see n. 48).

[71] Montelius, Plate 287, Nos. 2 and 4.

[72] *Notizie,* 1908, 430–433, Figure 13; Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans* (1924), 127, Figure 38 and Plate 23. Any discussion of bronze axes suggests the marvelous depository of S. Francesco at Bologna, a collection of more than fifteen thousand pieces of bronze, including some four thousand axes, which seem to have included both tools and weapons used by the Umbrians in the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. See Ducati, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* (1923), 159–161.

[73] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* 124, Figure 35a.

of the warrior on the *stele* of Aules Feluskes [74] and of the representations of single and double axes in the Tomba dei Rilievi [75] at Caere.

Homer mentions the battle-axe only twice. In the first passage (*Iliad* 13, 612) a bronze axe with olive-wood handle hangs from the under side of a warrior's shield. In the second passage (*Iliad* 15, 711), in a combat of Achaeans and Trojans, the combatants come to close quarters and fight 'with sharp battle-axes and hatchets and with great swords and two-edged spears.' The axe was not a regular weapon of the Romans in historic times, and the evidence seems to show that Vergil must have made especially good use of his antiquarian knowledge and feeling when he gave to this implement so prominent a place in the early warfare of Central Italy.

In the catalogue of Book VII the contingent from lower Campania has distinctive equipment, in which is included the *cateia* (741), a weapon not mentioned by any earlier writer. Ancient commentators and lexicographers assign it to various nations, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, Africans, Persians. The word itself is certainly of foreign derivation; according to Walde it is related to Old Irish *cath*, 'fight.' Gellius (10, 25, 2) mentions it in a list of weapons found in *historiae veteres*, and he places it in close proximity to arms which are missile in character. From Vergil's description (7, 741), too, it is plainly a missile: Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias. The indiscriminate

[74] *Notizie*, 1895, 305; also, Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 125, Figure 36.

[75] A. Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques* 3 (1862–1864), Plate 3. There is a *bipennis* in one of the very early frescoes (of the seventh century B.C.) of the Tomba Campana at Veii (Martha, *L'Art Étrusque* [1889], 422, Figure 282), but one cannot be sure that it is a battle-axe.

use of the words Gallic and Teutonic in ancient writers is not strange. Servius says (*ad loc.*) CATEIAS tela Gallica: unde et Teutonicum ritum dixit. The Daniel-Servius adds that some consider the *cateia* similar to *aclydes: < Est > . . . ex materia quam maxime lenta, cubitus longitudine, tota fere clavis ferreis illigata, quas in hostem iaculantes lineis, quibus eas adnexuerant, reciprocas faciebant.* And, further, Isidorus (*Etymologiae* 18, 7, 7–8) stresses the terrific power of the *cateia:* Est enim genus Gallici teli ex materia quam maxime lenta, quae iacta quidem non longe propter gravitatem evolat, sed quo pervenit, vi nimia perfringit. Quod si ab artifice mittatur, rursum redit ad eum qui misit. Huic meminit Vergilius dicens: Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias. Unde et eos Hispani et Galli tautanos vocant. The skill required for successfully hurling this weapon is further confirmed by an allusion in the *Argonautica* (6, 79–83) of Valerius Flaccus; there, in describing the education of people in the region of Hyrcania, Valerius represents the children as practising the hurling of the *cateia* from the chariot-pole.

Meyer[76] still believes that this weapon was a kind of club, but most archaeologists now regard it as a battle-axe resembling that used by the Franks and known as the *francisca.* The idea that the *cateia* was an axe seems to have been suggested by Bormans[77] in 1873, and to have been approved by Reinach.[78] Milani[79] has since identified as a *cateia* an axe which he found in a deposit of votive objects at Telamon

[76] 238.

[77] *Essai de solution philologique d'une question d'archéologie réputée insoluble* (1873, Brussels). I have not been able to see this article.

[78] *Les Celtes dans la vallée du Po,* 194 ff.

[79] 138–139, Figure 46 (cf. n. 48).

(see above, page 151); but more satisfactory appears the sort of axe which is twice depicted on the beautiful bronze plaque from Watsch (see above, page 147),[80] for the convex edge of the spreading, bell-shaped blade and the slightly curving handle fit the epithet, *panda*, which Silius[81] applies to the *cateia*. Bertrand[82] further calls attention to the iron nails which are clearly visible on one of the two axes, which accords with the comment of the Daniel-Servius (*tota fere clavis ferreis illigata*). Very similar to this type of axe is that carried by four warriors on the fine Certosa *situla*[83] in the Bologna Museum, which Ducati[84] dates at the end of the sixth century B.C. and regards as native work, done under Etruscan influence, and belonging to a series of bronzes whose provenance includes Carniola, which is the region in which Watsch lies.

### *F. Sword*

The mention of the sword is much more frequent in the Aeneid than in the Iliad. In this Vergil may have been unconsciously influenced by the fact that, with the passage of centuries, the use of this weapon had greatly increased. The poetic *ensis* is the name which he most often gives to the sword; *gladius*[85] appears

[80] A fairly good representation of one of these may be found in Daremberg and Saglio, 4, 1171, Figure 6276.

[81] *Punica* 3, 277. There the *cateia* is assigned to the African Macae, whose barbarian character is apparent in the description.

[82] 108 (cf. n. 39).

[83] Montelius, Plate 105, Nos. 5, 6.

[84] 124 (cf. n. 72).

[85] Twice (10, 313, 513) it is assigned to Aeneas, twice (9, 769; 12, 789) to Turnus, once (12, 278) to some of the sons of Arcadian Gylippus and his Tuscan wife. For the *dolo*, see pages 148–149.

only five times in the Aeneid. *Mucro* is sometimes interchangeable with *ensis* (e.g., 10, 681–682) and *ferrum* is frequently a variant for 'sword' (10, 513–514, 715; 9, 324, 331). This latter fact would seem to indicate that the iron sword was common[86] in this early period. The followers of Oebalus from Lower Campania have besides their helmet of cork-bark and strange *cateia* the *aereus ensis* (7, 743) and bronze *pelta*. In the Latin preparations for war the swords of the fathers are retempered in the furnace (7, 636).

There are numerous references, direct and indirect,[87] to the sheath of the sword, which is called *vagina*.[88] The *ensis auratus* of Ascanius has an ivory sheath (9, 305); this seems to be true also of the sword of Mezentius, which probably hangs sheathed on the *tropaeum* (11, 11).

Turnus is startled at the sight of the strange *capulus* of the sword of Metiscus (12, 734), which he has hurriedly caught up by mistake, instead of his own.

Swords are employed in various ways, for striking, for mowing a way through the enemy, for thrusting into the body of an adversary, for lopping off members, especially the head. The sword of Euryalus must have been short, for he plunged it full length into the breast of Rhoetus and then drew it out (9, 347–349); similarly, Aeneas drove his sword up to the hilt into the neck of Magus (10, 535–536) and full length into Lausus (10, 816). Struggling to pluck from his wound an arrow-point, Aeneas suggests that it be cut out with an *ensis latus* (12, 389). After

[86] Cf. *Aen.* 12, 663–664: strictisque seges mucronibus horret ferrea.

[87] Compare, e.g., the frequently recurring *strictis ensibus*, with *ducto mucrone* (12, 378) and *recluso ense* (9, 423).

[88] 4, 579; 6, 260; 9, 305; 10, 475, 896.

the injury to Silvia's stag the forces of Ascanius and of the Latin peasants fight *ferro ancipiti* (7, 525).[89] The Oscan followers of Halaesus, besides their equipment of *caetra* and *aclydes,* have *falcati enses.* Weege[90] says that the paintings in Oscan tombs (mainly of the fourth century B.C.) do not yield representations of such swords, though he cites, but does not date, two originals, one in Naples (No. 6758), one in Campobasso (No. 1248). He believes that this type of sword did not characterize the earliest Samnite equipment but was later than the fourth century B.C. It was used by gladiators and may thus have come to be regarded as a Samnite weapon, since one of the standard types of gladiator was called Samnite.[91] It is to the men of *pugnax Salernum* that Silius Italicus (8, 582) assigns *falcati enses.*

While swords are not nearly so common as spearpoints in primitive Latian graves, Pinza describes a number of iron dagger blades found there and reproduces[92] two notable examples from Esquiline tombs. Both are badly oxidized and to both still cling fragments of the sheaths. The handle of No. 1 was prob-

[89] Pinza (*M.A.* 15, 549) says that the iron blades of the swords and daggers of primitive Rome are all two-edged. That *ferro ancipiti* (7, 525) is a variant for *certamine ancipiti* is not probable. See Conington *ad loc.*

[90] 158 (cf. n. 30). A warrior on a terra cotta acroterion of the so-called Temple of Mercury at Falerii Veteres, of the fifth century B.C., has a short, curved sword, but the section of country is not Oscan. Fowler (*Clans,* 71) suggests that the sickle is a common form in Southern Italy in the Bronze Age.

[91] Livy (9, 40, 17) relates how in the Samnite War of 308 B.C. the Campanians, who had, apparently, taken part as allies of the Romans, shared the plunder; in their hatred of the Samnites they equipped with the captured spoils the gladiators who entertained them at their feasts and called them 'Samnites.' It was from Campania that gladiators were introduced at Rome.

[92] *M.A.* 15, Plate 15, Nos. 1, 5.

ably of wood, the pommel of iron; the handle of No. 5 was of wood or ivory, the pommel was of bronze.[93] From the Bernardini Tomb come two interesting iron daggers (Nos. 28, 40). Number 28[94] has a handle of ivory and amber and a silver sheath, ornamented with hunting-scenes in embossed relief, and terminating in a cup-like gold flower with granulated petals. Number 40 has a silver hilt with an iron blade which is badly rusted and shows what may possibly be traces of a sheath. The Regolini-Galassi Tomb contained a dagger with triangular iron blade and wooden handle.[95] Randall-MacIver describes a fine iron dagger from the Warrior Tomb at Corneto, " the handle of which is inlaid with ivory attached to it by a bronze ring and whipped with silver wire,"[96] and,[97] from much shapeless iron in the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, two badly oxidized iron swords, of which one " had apparently an iron sheath and bronze hilt, the other an ivory sheath and ivory hilt."

Bronze swords, with long, thin blade[98] or with short, triangular blade, raised edges and flat handle,[99] have been found in Latium. Pinza[100] reproduced a splendid bronze sword with *antennae*-pommel from the Esquiline, the southernmost example then known; there are others from Corneto, Terni, and Vetulonia. From the Bernardini Tomb comes a bronze dagger (Curtis' Inventory, No. 27), which has an amber handle surrounded by a granulated band. The Mu-

[93] *M.A.* 15, 67, 155, 549.

[94] See the Inventory by C. Densmore Curtis, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 3 (1919), 46–48, Plate 25.

[95] *Museo Etrusco al Vaticano*,[1] Plate 12, No. 9.

[96] *Villanovans*, 160.

[97] *Villanovans*, 116.

[98] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 583–584, Figure 173a.

[99] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 615–616, Figure 187.

[100] *M.A.* 15, Plate 3, No. 5.

seo di Villa Giulia contains iron and bronze sword-blades from the tombs of the early Iron Age and of the orientalizing period at the Latian site of Satricum.[101]

In general, the Iliad does not give detailed descriptions of swords; that of Agamemnon was silver-studded (2, 45), but later (11, 29–31) it gleamed with studs of gold, 'while the scabbard about it was of silver, fitted with golden chains.' That beautifully inlaid daggers[102] existed in Mycenaean times is well-known today.

In the late Republic the sword of the common soldier was doubtless plain with a handle of wood or bone, but there must have been many weapons *de luxe,* ornamented with gold and silver and with figures in relief. From a period not much later than that of Vergil comes the famous sheath of the so-called sword of Tiberius, found at Mainz, and now in the British Museum.[103] This sheath[104] is composed of plates of silver over wood and is decorated with gilded bronze bands of oak-leaves and reliefs, by some regarded as descriptive of the victories of Tiberius, perhaps his youthful conquest (in 15 B.C.) of the Vindelici (cf. Horace, *Carmina* 4, 4, 17–28), by others regarded as descriptive of Tiberius' reception of Germanicus on the latter's return in 17 A.D. from his victories over the Germans. The latter is the opinion of Mr. Forsdyke of the British Museum, who thinks that the inferior

[101] Della Seta (1918), 243–251.

[102] Cf. the familiar example in the National Museum in Athens, which is so frequently reproduced in books on prehistoric Greek art.

[103] *British Museum Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life*[2] (1920), 105, No. 284, Figure 109.

[104] For other reproductions see Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1606, Figure 3619; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums,* 3, 2073, Figure 2297.

execution of the elaborate design marks this sheath as one of many copies turned out for some official purpose.

## II. Arms of Defense

### *A. Shield*

*Clipeus* [105] is the word which Vergil most commonly uses for shield. It occurs fifty times in the Aeneid. The *clipeus* is assigned both to Trojans and to Latins. In accordance with the tradition of its Sabine origin,[106] the *scutum* (mentioned thirteen times) is appropriately carried by the troops of Sabine Clausus (7, 722): it also belongs to the Labici (7, 796)[107] and to the three hundred horsemen of Volcens (9, 370), and it had been in the booty taken in great quantities by young Evander at Praeneste (8, 562). It is likewise carried by the Trojans who go to Pallanteum with Aeneas (8, 93), by the Trojan leaders deliberating in camp (9, 229), and by Trojans on the field of battle (12, 563). Such passages as 9, 666 and 12, 130 seem to assign it to both sides alike. That Vergil may use

[105] Once (*Aen.* 9, 709) we seem to have a neuter form, *clipeum.*

[106] Cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 21 (Loeb Classical Library Translation): "The Sabines, then, adopted the Roman months, about which I have written sufficiently in my Life of Numa. Romulus, on the other hand, made use of their long oblong shields and changed his own armour and that of the Romans, who before that carried round shields of the Argive pattern." Weege (page 153, Figure 24: cf. n. 30) reproduces a relief of the first or the second century B.C. from the Sabine city, Amiternum, which shows two combatants carrying such *scuta.* Silius Italicus gives to the Sabines the *clipeus retortus in orbem* (*Punica* 8, 418).

[107] They are described as *picti scuta Labici* (7, 796). Servius says: 'picti' autem 'scuta' id est in bello frequenter probati: nam apud maiores virorum fortium picta erant scuta, e contra inertium et tironum pura erant, unde est < IX, 545 >parmaque inglorius alba, id est non picta.

*scutum* and *clipeus* interchangeably is suggested in the case of Pallas. When he is attacked by Turnus, he has a *clipeus* made of layers of iron, bronze, and bull's hide (10, 482–483), but his body is presently carried back to camp on a *scutum* (10, 506), presumably his own.[108] As to the material of the *scutum* we have no clue, save that it gleams (8, 92–93) and resounds (7, 722).

The *parma* is, likewise, used by both armies. Conspicuous is the fact that it is often assigned to a young or inexperienced warrior (e.g., Lausus 10, 800, 817; Helenor 9, 548),[109] and that, when the absence of a device is noted,[110] *parma* is the word used for the shield. Servius says (on 10, 817): PARMAM id est levia arma, non clipeum.

The troops of Halaesus include in their unusual equipment (*teretes aclydes* and *enses falcati:* see above, pages 141, 150–151, 166) the *caetra,* which Servius (on 7, 732) describes as scutum loreum, quo utuntur Afri et Hispani. Weege[111] gets no light on the *caetra* from Oscan tomb-paintings, but Milani[112]

[108] Heinze (203–204) aptly recalls the Sabine origin of the *scutum* as befitting Pallas, whose mother was of Sabine origin (8, 510). E. Meyer (237, n. 1) cites, as examples of the interchange of *clipeus* and *scutum, Aen.* 7, 789, 793, 796.

[109] Heinze (204) sees in the equipment of Helenor and Lausus, who wear no corselet and carry instead of the *clipeus* the light *parma,* a suggestion of the Roman *velites.*

[110] *Aen.* 9, 548; 11, 711. Seymour (646) says that devices are unknown on Homeric shields, save on that of Agamemnon (*Iliad* 11, 36–37), but Leaf (*J.H.S.* 4 [1883], 282) regards the Gorgoneion here as an ἀποτρόπαιον, meant to terrify the enemy, not as an individual coat of arms. G. H. Chase (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 13 [1902], 64–67) counts any ornamentation as a device, like that on the aegis of Athena (*Iliad* 5, 739–742) and the shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18, 478–608).

[111] See page 146, n. 18 (cf. n. 30).

[112] 133–134, Figure 18 (cf. n. 48).

would identify it from the Telamon treasure (see above, pages 151, 163–164) as a shield, long in proportion to its width, with its lower end like the base of the letter U and its upper edge deeply concave, in crescent shape. This long *scutum*-form, with its deep curves at top and at bottom, harmonizes well with Livy's statement (28, 5, 11): pelta caetrae haud dissimilis est. Now the *pelta* (7, 743) is carried by the troops from lower Campania, i.e., from the regions south of those from which Halaesus' men come. Servius (on 1, 490) writes: PELTIS scutis brevissimis in modum lunae iam mediae. This crescent-shaped shield was probably made of osier and was covered with leather; it is often associated in ancient writers with barbarian nations, especially with Thracians and Asiatics, and, particularly, with the Amazons. Indeed, apart from this one passage in the catalogue of Book VII, it is assigned in the Aeneid only to the Amazons (1, 490; 11, 663). In art this Amazonian shield [113] is often of shallow depth as compared with its width, but Milani cites, from a Greek sarcophagus-relief in Vienna, an example which is very like his so-called *caetra* from Telamon. Doubtless others might be mentioned, e.g., those on the Saloniki sarcophagus, now in Paris, which Baumeister reproduces.[114]

When the war breaks out and the Latins start the manufacture of arms, metals are used for the corselets and the greaves: the material of the helmets is not indicated (*tegmina tuta cavant capitum*), but the shields are of willow (7, 632–633), i.e., they have willow frames, covered with hides or skins. The Latins may have had recourse to this kind of shield because haste was imperative and metals were not at

[113] See Daremberg and Saglio, 1, 1258, Figure 1663.

[114] Denkmäler, 1, 63–64, Figure 66 (cf. n. 104).

hand in sufficient quantity. However, even in historic times the wicker shield was a normal type in Lucania.[115]

There is no indication that Vergil had in mind the large semi-cylindrical and 'figure eight' shields so common in Mycenaean works of art. Certainly most often he is thinking of the round *clipeus*.[116] Sometimes it seems to be of bronze alone (10, 336; 12, 541): the *clipeus* of Pallas (10, 482–483) is of bronze, iron, and bull's hide, several layers of each; that of Mezentius is of triple bronze, linen, and three bulls' hides (10, 783–785). While ox-hide and bronze are characteristic materials in the Homeric shield, iron is not so employed, and the linen which Vergil has introduced is commonly supposed to have been suggested by its use in the early Roman *scuta* (Polybius 6, 23, 3). The shields of Aeneas and Turnus are seven-fold (12, 925). That of Turnus is polished and bears the story of Io emblazoned in gold (7, 789–790). Vulcan had at his disposal for Aeneas' shield streams of molten bronze, gold, and *chalybs* (8, 445–446; 10, 243), while silver and iron were also used in its elaborate ornamentation (8, 655, 673, 701). Vergil mentions no other wood than that of willow (see above) in his shields, though wood is likely to have played an important part in all early Italian weapons.[117] The shield on which the treaty with Gabii was inscribed was of wood covered with the hide of the

[115] Weege (146–147: cf. n. 30) cites the literary references and the evidence from the tomb-paintings and vases.

[116] The circular shape of the *clipeus* is several times confirmed by the use of the word *orbis* (compare, e.g., *totum clipei . . . orbem*, 10, 546).

[117] Louise E. W. Adams, *A Study in the Commerce of Latium from the Early Iron Age through the Sixth Century* B.C., in *Smith College Classical Studies* 2 (1921), 22.

ox which had been slain at the making of the treaty (Dionysius 4, 58).

The *umbo* of the shield is mentioned five times in the Aeneid (2, 546; 7, 633; 9, 810; 10, 271, 884). In at least one of the passages (7, 633) the word is used by synecdoche for the whole shield.

Of most importance among the extant remains of prehistoric shields in Italy are those found in a *fossa*-grave of the Iron Age on the Esquiline. Along with other objects characteristic of a warrior were twenty small fragments of a discoidal bronze shield,[118] the diameter of which must have been more than a metre. The edge had been strengthened by an iron band; the simple geometric decoration was arranged in concentric circles; the boss, ornamented with small knobs, was also surrounded by concentric circles. To some of the fragments of the shield adhere pendants of bronze closely resembling those on the well-known shield from the Tomb of the Warrior at Corneto.[119] Even more striking is the case of the splendid bronze shield from the recent excavations at Veii,[120] which is so perfectly preserved that all four pairs of pendants are still in place on the back of the shield. It is believed that such pendants were intended to produce a din in battle for the confusion of the enemy; they may explain some passages hitherto obscure. In a

[118] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 145–146, 545–546.

[119] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 147, Figure 62; or, McCartney, Plate 51, No. 2; or, Montelius, Plate 287, No. 6; or, Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, Plate 30, No. 12.

[120] Exhibited provisionally in the Museo di Villa Giulia. See Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 270. For a still more recent discovery, see *Notizie*, 1928, 456, and *Tav.* X; a round bronze shield (65 cm. in diameter), with iron rim, was found over a cinerary urn in a *fossa*-tomb of a prehistoric cemetery near Capodimonte (ancient Visentium), still bearing on the inner side four groups of pendants in the shape of little axes.

note on *Aeneid* 7, 722 (*scuta sonant pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus*) Warde Fowler [121] approves Henry's rendering, " Their shields resound with the striking of the spears . . ." He cites two other passages where, he thinks, the poet imagines the shields to be struck with something (12, 332 *sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat;* 8, 3 *impulit arma*) and adds " Perhaps the sword was used: perhaps the centre of the spear, held in the right hand, was rattled against the shield in the left." May we not rather explain the noise in such cases as made by metal pendants like those just mentioned as found on *clipei* from the Esquiline, from Corneto and from Veii? [122]

The Barberini Tomb contained fragments of at least four bronze shields, ornamented in relief in concentric circles with geometric *motifs* and with conventionalized men, horses, goats, and feline creatures. The Bernardini Tomb contained fragments of one such bronze shield,[123] with animals and horsemen in concentric circles (Curtis' Inventory, No. 82), and two bronze handles of votive shields (Curtis' Inventory, No. 84).[124] In the Regolini-Galassi Tomb were remains of eight large bronze shields and four bronze centres of targes or of wooden shields.[125]

One might add indefinitely to this list of bronze shields from various parts of Etruria, but on none should we find any decoration resembling that on the

[121] *Clans,* 69–70.

[122] Pinza (*M.A.* 15, 450) says that similar pairs of bronze pendants have been found in the Faliscan territory and at Vetulonia.

[123] Helbig says there were originally fragments of four shields.

[124] Cf. Nos. 11 and 12 in the Curtis Inventory (cf. n. 94), gold-plated silver disks which have hitherto been characterized as buttons, but which Curtis believed to represent shields in miniature.

[125] *Museo Etrusco al Vaticano,*[1] Plates 9, 10, 11, 12, No. 3, 14, Nos. 3, 4.

shields of Aeneas and Turnus. Inevitably the shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18, 478–608) would have suggested to Vergil something more distinctive for his hero than the conventionalized Etruscan designs. Mackail[126] says that the scenes on Aeneas' shield "clearly suggest the fresco decoration either of some great single hall or of a series of rooms and corridors, as on the walls of the Sistine Chapel or of the *stanze* in the Vatican; a pictured history of Rome in panel after panel, beginning with the twins and their wolf foster-mother, and ending with the triple triumph of Augustus." The use of historic scenes on ancient armor is most familiar to us from the Prima Porta statue of Augustus with its richly decorated corselet. Amelung dates this statue at about 18 B.C., because the head of the Emperor suggests a man midway in his forties. It cannot have been earlier than 20 B.C., the year in which the Parthians gave back the standards of Crassus. Fowler[127] detects in the description of the shield of Aeneas evidences of unfinished work and one might like to think that Vergil already knew this statue when he wrote the splendid ending to Book VIII; but the chronological difficulty in such a supposition is, of course, great and need not be incurred, for there must have been in Vergil's day much of that beautifully wrought armor of which numerous examples have come down to us from the early Empire. His adoption of such a style of ornamentation may have been a deliberate anachronism, too tempting to resist in view of the overwhelming national *motif* of the poem.

[126] *J.R.S.* 3 (1913), 14. The splendid group of buildings around the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine is in Professor Mackail's mind as a probable source.

[127] *Aeneas* (1918), 105–106.

Fowler [128] finds the shield of Turnus very tame after the miraculous Chimaera helmet (7, 785–792) and almost wishes that "it had been struck out of the picture." But the Io-story and Father Inachus form, in reality, a very fitting device, because they suggest the Greek origin of Turnus' stock, a point upon which Amata insists (7, 371–372). Thus the shield does actually supply a lack which Fowler felt, for by its purely individual character the decoration emphasizes the most significant trait in Turnus, his selfish, personal attitude to the whole conflict, in striking contrast with the attitude of Aeneas, who almost passes human bounds in sinking his own interest in the national cause.

Similarly appropriate is the Lernaean hydra [129] on the shield of Aventinus, seed of Hercules (7, 656–658).

### *B. Helmet*

*Galea* is the usual designation of helmet in the Aeneid. *Cassida* appears only once (11, 775). The former is properly of leather, the latter of metal; but this distinction is not maintained by Vergil, nor do even military writers regard it. The *galea* of Mezentius is of bronze (10, 835–836, 869), and bronze seems to have formed the foundation of Turnus' helmet (9, 809). When this is described as 'golden, with crimson crest' (9, 50), *aurea* is probably used of the ornamentation of the miraculous helmet.[130] The

[128] *Clans,* 82–83.

[129] A centaur is seen on the round shield of a warrior depicted on a terra cotta of the late sixth or the early fifth century B.C. from the *columen* of the temple at Satricum (Conca) in Latium. See Mrs. Arthur Strong, *J.R.S.,* 4 (1914), 170, Figure 19; or, Della Seta, No. 10054.

[130] Fowler (*Clans,* 82–83) thinks that Turnus does not wear the

spear which pierces the helmet of Trojan Hyllus is said to have been aimed at his 'gold-bound brow' (12, 536). The helmet of Messapus was wholly or partly of metal, for, worn by young Euryalus (9, 365), it gleamed in the moonlight (9, 373–374: cf. 9, 457) and so betrayed him to the enemy (see above, pages 139–140).

Common is the mention of crests on helmets: indeed, *cristae* [131] is repeatedly put for helmet. Mezentius' crest is of horse hair (10, 869); Ligurian Cupavo's is of swan's feathers, to suggest his father's changed form (10, 187–188). The crimson crest of Turnus (9, 50, 732–733; 12, 89) with its triple *iuba* (7, 785) may have rested in a socket of horn (12, 89). S. Reinach [132] says that among Italic peoples, in particular among the Samnites, the custom of adorning the helmet with feathers was a favorite one; he finds on Roman coins many parallels for the *geminae cristae* of Romulus (*Aen.* 6, 779), and he reproduces (Figure 3427) from a wall-painting at Paestum a Samnite warrior, whose helmet bears three plumes.[133] As for the Chimaera on

---

Chimaera helmet in actual fighting, but the passages which he cites (9, 50; 12, 89) are not irreconcilable with the description in 7, 785–788. It would seem strange not to use this miraculous means of defense precisely at the time of greatest danger.

[131] Twice (10, 270; 12, 492–493) *apex* and *cristae* are both used in referring to Aeneas' helmet. *Iuba,* less common than *cristae,* is used for helmet in 10, 638 (cf. 2, 412).

[132] In Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1437, s.v. galea.

[133] In describing the equipment of the Roman *hastati* Polybius (6, 23, 12–13) says (Loeb Classical Library Translation): "Finally they wear as an ornament a circle of feathers with three upright purple or black feathers about a cubit in height, the addition of which on the head surmounting their other arms is to make every man look twice his real height, and to give him a fine appearance, such as will strike terror into the enemy."

Turnus' helmet, Fowler has reminded us (see above, page 176, n. 130) of the prominence of this mythical creature in Etruscan art, and Reinach [134] has shown how the figures of animals on helmets can be illustrated in the art of Italy from Etruscan times on.

A head-covering of some sort seems to be assumed for the Latin warrior (7, 632; 9, 612). Fourteen hundred men *purpurei cristis* attend the fourteen Rutulians who are set to watch the walls of Aeneas' camp (9, 161–163). In the Latin catalogue there are several instances of very primitive head-covering. Aventinus [135] wears a great lion's skin, whose teeth appear on his head (7, 666–669); most of the troops of Caeculus (a *legio agrestis,* slingers and spearmen: 7, 681–690) have tawny caps (*galeri*) of wolf-skin; [136] the soldiers of Oebalus wear a head-covering made of the bark of the cork-tree,[137] though they have *pelta* and *ensis* of bronze (7, 742–743). So primitive a kind of protection for the head is mentioned only once on the Trojan side, in the case of the Tuscan hunter, Ornytus (11, 680–681 *caput ingens oris hiatus et malae texere lupi cum den-*

[134] In Daremberg and Saglio, 2, 1450, s.v. galea.

[135] Fowler (*Clans,* 45–50) argues with much plausibility that these lines belong not to the description of Aventinus, but to that of Ufens (7, 744–749).

[136] Cf. Propertius' description of Romulus (4, 10, 20): et galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba. McCartney (129) reminds us that on Trajan's Column "the standard-bearers and the musicians are usually represented with a cape made of the head and skin of some animal." Polybius (6, 22, 3) says that the Roman *velites* sometimes cover their plain helmet with "a wolf's skin or something similar both to protect and to act as a distinguishing mark by which their officers can recognize them and judge if they fight pluckily or not" (Loeb Classical Library Translation).

[137] Cf. *Aen.* 11, 554, and Fowler, *Clans,* 71–72.

*tibus albis*). Trojan Herminius has no covering for head or shoulders in the battle of Book XI (642–643).

From the same warrior-grave on the Esquiline in which were found the fragments of the shield described on page 173 comes a bronze helmet[138] like a hat with a strong rim whose edge is almost horizontal. On the top was a knob of bronze. Pinza notes that this form is not peculiar to Latium but can be paralleled[139] from Vetulonian tombs of the same period. Randall-MacIver[140] describes several of these Vetulonian helmets and reproduces one (Plate 24). From Corneto he shows other types of bronze helmets: (1) cap-shaped, one decorated with a schematized face (Plate 13, No. 15), another with mushroom-top, decorated with rows of bosses and with engraving (Plate 13, No. 14); (2) the splendid conical-crested type, decorated with rows of dots and circles and with engraved bosses in repoussé (page 49, Plate 12, No. 7). Of this second type is a helmet from a warrior's tomb at Bisenzio,[141] and another is to be seen in the provisional exhibit in the Museo di Villa Giulia of the recent discoveries at Veii. The familiar ridge-crest helmet is seen on the *stele* of Aules Feluskes[142] from Vetulonia and is frequent in Etruscan works of art. The so-called Mars of Todi[143] in

[138] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 145, 545; Plate 11, No. 11.

[139] I. Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua Necropoli Antichissima* (1891), *Tav.* IX, 23 (Tomba del Duce); XV, 11; XVII, 8.

[140] *Villanovans,* 113, 124, 135.

[141] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* 170.

[142] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* 125, Figure 36.

[143] Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* $1^3$ (1912), 383, No. 693. This statue was a votive offering placed in a temple at Todi by an Umbrian, Ahala Trutius. It is dated in the fourth to the third century B.C. by A. Della Seta (*Italia Antica* [1922], 215), who is loath to regard it as Etruscan work.

the Vatican wears a similar helmet, which has, however, been restored.

In view of the large number of helmets cited from Etruscan tombs, their absence from the Barberini, Bernardini, and Regolini-Galassi Tombs is striking. In the much later Tomba dei Rilievi at Caere we find represented in the frieze both the simple *pilleus*-shaped helmet and the ridge-crest helmet with a neck-piece.

From Vetulonia [144] and from Populonia [145] examples of the proto-Corinthian [146] helmet may be cited. This helmet covers head and neck, leaving eyes and mouth exposed; around the edges of these openings are little holes which were used, perhaps, for the attachment of leather or cloth on the under side to protect the delicate parts of the face. This may have been the kind of helmet which Aeneas wore when he put on his armor for the final conflict with Turnus and, clasping Ascanius [147] in his arms, kissed the boy on the lips through the helmet (12, 434 *summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur*).

[144] Montelius, Plate 195, No. 15; Falchi, *Tav.* XIV, 3 (cf. n. 139).

[145] A. Minto, *Populonia, la Necropoli Arcaica* (1922), 148–149, *Tav.* 12. This helmet Minto calls the most beautiful example of the proto-Corinthian type so far (1922) found in Etruria. It will be remembered that six hundred men from Populonia were among Aeneas' Etruscan allies (10, 172–173). For a helmet of this type, on which the cheek-pieces are adorned with scenes of combat, cf. Della Seta, Figure 262 (cf. n. 143).

[146] Cf. the *Argolica galea* which is given as a prize in the games (*Aen.* 5, 314).

[147] F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst* (1912), 175, thinks that the behavior of Astyanax in *Iliad* 6, 466–469 is to be explained by supposing that Hector's face was well covered by his helmet. Helmets of this type sometimes show traces of a crest which would, again, suit the helmet of Aeneas in *Aen.* 12, 492–493, where the peak of the helmet and its topmost crest are carried off by the swift spear of Messapus.

Still more evidence[148] is preserved for us in the splendid architectural terra cottas of the Museo di Villa Giulia. A warrior on the *columen* of the temple at Satricum (= Conca in Latium) has, along with his round shield and rather fully developed cuirass, a *pilleus*-like head covering; another in the same temple has such a helmet ornamented with ram's horns and with conspicuous cheek-pieces, while the spirited warrior on the acroterion of the 'Mercury Temple' at Falerii Veteres (of the early fifth century B.C.) shows a *pilleus* with neck-piece, brow-piece and cheek-pieces, and a crest fastened to the centre of the crown and hanging down behind.

### *C. Corselet*

Since the round shield (*clipeus*) is the one most often used in the battles of the Aeneid, one would expect the corselet (*lorica, thorax*)[149] also to be prominent. As a matter of fact, it is mentioned much less frequently than the *clipeus,* but, when it is mentioned,[150] it is practically always in connection with a

[148] Mrs. Strong, *J.R.S.* 4 (1914), 170–173, Figures 19–21 (cf. n. 129).

[149] That Vergil uses *lorica* and *thorax* interchangeably seems probable from the case of Trojan Phegeus (12, 375–381) and that of Turnus (11, 487; 12, 87–88).

[150] *Lorica* occurs eleven times, *thorax* five times in *Aeneid* VII–XII. In nine of the eleven cases the *clipeus* is mentioned with the *lorica,* and in one case the *parma* accompanies the *lorica.* The one remaining case is that of Aeneas (12, 98), who, of course, had a *clipeus.* A shield (*clipeus*) is always expressly assigned also to the warrior who has a *thorax,* except once (11, 487), in the case of Turnus. The latter did, however, have, in fact, a fine *clipeus* (7, 789–792; 12, 925). Note also 7, 632, where the periphrasis *salignas umbonum cratis* is used. Venulus seems to be wearing a cuirass of some sort (11, 746–750), but no shield is suggested. This he may easily have dropped when he was torn from his horse and was car-

*clipeus*. That the corselet was fairly common appears from the description of the general preparations for war on the Latin side (7, 632–640):

Tegmina tuta cavant capitum flectuntque salignas
umbonum cratis: alii *thoracas aenos*
aut levis ocreas lento ducunt argento; . . . .
Hic galeam tectis trepidus rapit, ille frementis
ad iuga cogit equos, clipeumque auroque trilicem
*loricam* induitur fidoque accingitur ense.

This is, apparently, in contrast with the Homeric practice, where the corselet is assigned to individual Achaeans and Trojans, but does not seem to be in general use; indeed, its absence from Mycenaean monuments has led some scholars to question, or to regard as late additions, the lines of the Iliad in which it is mentioned.[151]

In Vergil, the *thorax* is often made of bronze (7, 633) and of bronze was the *lorica* of Aeneas (8, 621–622). Noticeable is the amount of gold on the corselets of the Latins; that of Turnus is *auro squalens alboque orichalco* (12, 87–88).[152] The *lorica auro trilix* (7, 639–640) seems a fairly common piece of armor. Trojan Phegeus wears a *lorica bilix* (12, 375–376). Vergil seems to have in mind chain armor made of double or triple links, like that in the arms of Neoptolemus (*loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem* 3, 467), and that of Demoleos (5, 259–265),

ried off by Tarchon (11, 741–744). Similarly, Aeneas drives his *gladius* through the *aerea suta* of Theron (10, 313), who is not mentioned as having any shield, but the argument *ex silentio* would be unsound.

[151] Seymour, 651–658. Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, 3, 1303, s.v. lorica, where E. Saglio mentions two possible examples from Mycenaean times.

[152] In *Aen.* 11, 487–488 the bronze scales of Turnus' *thorax* are emphasized.

so heavy that two men could hardly carry it. In his description of the equipment of the *hastati* in the Roman army of his day Polybius (6, 23, 14–15) says that the common soldiers wore a breastplate of brass over the heart,[153] but that those rated above ten thousand drachmas wore instead of this a coat of chain-mail (ἀλυσιδωτοὺς θώρακας). Very common indeed on monuments of the Empire is such armor, but we have no evidence of its existence in primitive Italy. Much easier to accept, for the period described by Vergil, is the corselet made of overlapping scales such as Bitias wears (*Aen.* 9, 707).

As for the shape and size of the corselet, the *lorica* of Trojan Butes reaches on the back well up towards the helmet (11, 691–693) and the same is probably true of the *thorax* of Trojan Phegeus (12, 380–382). Turnus' *lorica* protects his shoulders (12, 88; 10, 476), and that of Aeneas is fitted to his back (12, 432).[154]

That the primitive Latin corselet was of leather is, of course, suggested by the word *lorica*,[155] but of this simple cuirass we find little trace in the Aeneid. The Tuscan hunter, Ornytus, in the battle of Book XI (677–682) has his shoulders covered with the skin taken from a fighting steer, his head covered with a wolf's grinning mouth and white-toothed

[153] Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 7, 633 THORACAS AENOS bene 'thoracas'; nam apud maiores loricae pectora tantum tegebant: Statius < Thebais 7, 311 >triplici servantur pectora ferro: pectora, nam tergo nullus metus.

[154] Daniel-Servius *ad loc.: quare tergo tantum, cum totum ambiat corpus? At quia latus clipeo dixerat tectum, supererat ut tergum lorica muniret.*

[155] Cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5, 116: lorica, quod e loris de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant; postea subcidit galli<ca> e ferro sub id vocabulum, ex anulis ferrea[m] tunica[m].

jaws, and his hand armed with a hunting-spear. This crude equipment excites comment even from a person of such rustic upbringing as Camilla, who, in the thick of battle, asks Ornytus if he supposes he is chasing wild beasts in the woods (11, 683–686).

Quite early in the development of the cuirass, metal plates were probably attached to a leather foundation. Of this practice we may have a hint in the case of Theron, when Aeneas' *gladius* is driven *per . . . aerea suta, per tunicam squalentem auro* (10, 313–314). Two[156] of the Esquiline tombs have yielded bronze pectorals which seem to have been thus used to reinforce a leather jerkin. Of these pectorals one[157] is a strong trapezoidal plate of bronze with concave sides and projecting corners, 0.16 m. high, and 0.12 m. wide in the narrowest part. The short sides were strengthened underneath by a band of bronze riveted to the pectoral. Around all four edges run two parallel bands of incised lines: from both sides of the inner band run short oblique lines to form the herring-bone pattern. Within the frame thus formed are five disks in relief, one like a boss in the centre, the other four in the corners, each surrounded by two concentric circles. The other pectoral[158] is very similar to this in shape and decoration, but is a little larger and a little more elaborately ornamented. This plaque was found on the breast of a skeleton; there is thus no doubt as to its use. Strikingly like these Esquiline pectorals is another, also

[156] A third Esquiline tomb yielded some badly oxidized fragments of a bronze pectoral (Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 138).

[157] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 70, and Figure 24.

[158] Pinza, *M.A.* 15, 135, and *Tav.* 15, Figure 9; or, Montelius, Plate 355, No. 15; or, Helbig, *Sur les Attributs des Saliens*, 44, Figure 24.

of bronze, which comes from a *pozzo*-tomb at Corneto.[159] In this connection one recalls the splendid gold pectoral from the Warrior Tomb at Corneto,[160] and the still larger one (0.45 m. high) from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere,[161] "perhaps the most gorgeous surviving specimen of Etruscan gold work."

Of the more fully developed corselet which Vergil seems to assign to his prehistoric warriors we have evidence in several early bronzes, notably that of the warrior in the British Museum, from Lake Falterona, "A finely-executed specimen of Etruscan art of the fifth century B.C. . . . Over his short tunic he wears a cuirass of elaborate work, formed of overlapping metal plates, with a double row of leather flaps over the hips; it is freely ornamented with engraved geometrical patterns."[162] The shoulder-pieces are incised with meander and other patterns. In the Archaeological Museum in Florence is a well-known figure of Mars (or a warrior), wearing a cuirass overlaid with scales and having two rows of fringed flaps at the hips and incised patterns on the shoulder-pieces.

[159] Helbig, 42–43, Figure 22 (cf. n. 158).

[160] Montelius, Plate 288, No. 13; or, Helbig, 45–46, Figure 25 (cf. n. 158).

[161] Montelius, Plate 341, No. 15a; or, Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* Plate 36, 1a, and page 204. The latter also describes (187), from Marsiliana, "a plain triangular pectoral of sheet silver," which "must have been originally fastened over linen or leather." On Plate 288, No. 6, Montelius reproduces from the Warrior Tomb at Corneto a small piece of leather studded with bronze, which may have been part of a shoulder-piece, and, from the same tomb, on Plate 287, No. 3, a bronze shoulder-piece lined with linen.

[162] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the British Museum,* No. 459, *Select Bronzes — Greek, Roman and Etruscan — in the British Museum,* Plate IX; also, McCartney, Plate 52, No. 4.

Milani [163] dates this in the fifth century B.C., and Walters [164] says it is a replica of No. 455 in the Etruscan bronzes of the British Museum, a warrior from Todi.[165]

Interesting is the testimony of the architectural terra cottas from Satricum and Falerii Veteres, already cited in the discussion of the helmet (page 181). These are work of the late sixth or the early fifth century B.C. They show a well-developed corselet having shoulder-pieces and reaching well up to the neck so as almost to meet the helmet in the back (see above, on the corselets of Butes and Phegeus).

Of the corselet which is modelled in imitation of the nude one of the most striking examples is from a warrior-tomb near Orvieto,[166] of the fourth century B.C., which contained especially fine gilded-bronze armor, including an enormous shield.

Of the *lorica* in Vergil's day we know very little. Caesar, for example, does not mention it. It is generally believed [167] that his legionaries wore a corselet consisting of bands of leather covered with metal. At Dyrrachium his soldiers improvised cuirasses of cloth and leather as a protection against the arrows of Pompey's soldiers (Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 3, 44, 6).

### *D. Belts*

A few times in the Aeneid warriors are represented as wearing the *balteus* or the *cingula* (the word is

[163] *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 2 (1912), *Tav.* 30; 1 (1912), 141, "d'arte forse più umbra che etrusca."

[164] *Select Bronzes*, Plate VIII (cf. n. 162).

[165] This is to be distinguished from the Vatican Mars of Todi (see n. 143), though there is a resemblance between the two.

[166] Milani, 1, 238–239 (cf. n. 163).

[167] T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*[2] (1911), 584–585.

always in the plural in the Aeneid). The most notable *balteus* is that which Turnus strips from the dead Pallas (10, 496–500); it is heavy and on it is engraved in gold the terrible story of the Danaids. In the final conflict Aeneas catches sight of it on the shoulder of Turnus (12, 941–943). From this *balteus* the sword of Pallas probably hung. A gold *balteus* which Aeneas offered as a prize in the games of Book V supported a quiver of arrows (311–313). One of the sons of Arcadian Gylippus and his Tuscan wife wears a *balteus* which rubs the middle of his body (12, 273–274). It may have been of leather, for it is called *sutilis;* it was fastened by a clasp (*fibula*).

Servius' definition of *balteus* (on 5, 313) shows that no hard and fast distinction can be drawn between it and *cingula:* balteus dicitur non tantum quo cingimur, sed etiam a quo arma dependent. Thus, when Euryalus seizes the *cingula* of Rhamnes with its golden *bullae,* he fits it to his shoulders (9, 359–364). In the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus, Aeneas has a momentary inclination to spare his adversary until he catches sight of the *infelix balteus* and sees the gleam of the *notis cingula bullis* which had belonged to the boy, Pallas (12, 941–943): this latter phrase is generally regarded merely as a further descriptive designation of *balteus.* The only other *cingula* mentioned in the Aeneid is that which Penthesilea is said to wear as she leads her Amazons in battle (1, 492).

However, a *cingulum* is not only a sword-strap or a girdle for binding up the tunic; it is also a strong band for protecting the loins. Pinza [168] describes and reproduces a fragment of an elliptical bronze girdle discovered at Rome, in the eighteenth century, near

[168] *M.A.* 15, 258–259, 440, Figure 104.

the Castro Pretorio. It is decorated with incised lines and with bosses surrounded by circles or rays and with conventionalized birds or serpents. In the rolling margins are holes from some of which still hang rings and chains. Girdles like this Pinza cites from other places, e.g., from Corneto and the Faliscan territory. Since Pinza's important volume appeared, there have been found on the Quirinal two pieces of a similar bronze girdle which is described by Pigorini;[169] numerous examples of the same[170] type come from all parts of Italy.[171] Of special interest are two *cingula*[172] discovered in the excavations at Marino as late as 1923, the first ever found in an Alban necropolis. They are of bronze, in very fragmentary condition, but showing a familiar type of decoration, three or four ornamental disks in the central space and on either side of this panel vertical rows of dots in relief. The contents of the thirty graves in this *sepulcretum* showed a very close resemblance to the later graves of the necropolis in the Roman Forum. Belts of this sort are characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe. They are sup-

[169] *B.P.I.* 34 (1908), 103–104, Figure D.

[170] From the Barberini Tomb come two bronze girdles (or two parts of one girdle) of a different type. Each part is composed of three plates which bear elaborate incised decoration and are joined by hinges. See No. 83 in the Inventory by C. Densmore Curtis, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 5 (1925), 46–47.

[171] Pigorini, 104–119 (cf. n. 169). Other interesting reproductions are those of a girdle from Corneto (Montelius, Plate 281, No. 29; or, Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* Plate 14, No. 18; or, McCartney, Plate 52, Figure 2), of two from Populonia (Minto, *Populonia,* 101–102, Figure 11: cf. n. 145), and of three from a more remote section, Bologna (Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* Plate 4, Nos. 4–6). Randall-MacIver (149) describes two splendid electrum belts from Vetulonia, probably intended for a woman. The general style of the plaques seems to be the same for the girdles of men and for those of women..

[172] *Notizie,* 1924, 484, 504, Figure 36.

posed to be the μίτρη which is assigned to a few Homeric warriors,[173] though no examples appear to have been found in Mycenaean graves. These metal cinctures are not long enough to go around the body: they have a hook at one end and rivet-holes at the other, and probably formed merely the front of a belt, of which the foundation was a long strip of leather terminating in a metal ring or eye, into which the hook of the metal plaque fitted. This would harmonize with Varro's definition (*De Lingua Latina* 5, 116): balteum, quod cingulum e corio habebant bullatum, balteum dictum. The wearing of a corselet would not necessarily exclude the use of such a belt, for in allowing free play to the lower limbs the *lorica* could not furnish the protection needed for so vital a part as the lower abdomen.

Of the clasps (*fibulae*) which fastened the *balteus* and the *cingula* the tombs furnish many examples. Montelius[174] reproduces from Bologna three modest examples in bronze, of which one (No. 15) is a double clasp with two hooks and two eyes, from Chiusi[175] a simple clasp of iron (No. 10), another of iron and bronze (No. 11), and a third (Plate 221, No. 12) of bronze, while splendid clasps of gold and silver, of different types, may be cited from the great Etruscan tombs nearer to Rome — the Barberini,[176] the Bernardini,[177] and the Regolini-Galassi.[178]

[173] Seymour, 658.

[174] Plate 82, Nos. 13–15.

[175] Montelius, Plate 220, Nos. 10, 11; Plate 221, No. 12.

[176] Museum Nos. 13207, 13211 (Della Seta is not sure of the use of No. 13207); Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 267, Nos. 26, 27; Curtis (cf. n. 170), Nos. 1, 2.

[177] Curtis' Inventory (n. 94), Nos. 16, 17 (Plate 9) and, probably, No. 3 (Plate 4, Figures 1, 2). No. 71 (Plate 48, Figures 1, 2) is formed of human figures roughly modelled in bronze.

[178] Number 15 (Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 200) is "part

### *E. Greaves*

Only two individuals, Aeneas and Turnus, are represented in the Aeneid as wearing greaves. Yet this piece of defensive armor seems not to have been unusual among the Latin troops, for in the account of their general preparations for war we read (7, 633–634):

> alii thoracas aenos
> aut levis ocreas lento ducunt argento.

The *leves ocreae* of Aeneas are *electro auroque recocto* (8, 624). In 12, 430 we find *ille* < = Aeneas > . . . *suras incluserat auro;* the same expression is used of Turnus (11, 488). Noticeable is the fact that silver or gold is used in the manufacture of all these greaves. In the case of princely figures like Aeneas and Turnus this sort of splendid equipment is natural, but silver, in particular, seems a metal ill adapted to greaves (7, 633–634).

There appears to be no evidence for greaves in early Latian tombs, but they are found in Etruscan tombs and at a period considerably earlier than has been generally stated.[179] At least three pairs of bronze greaves are known from Vetulonia, certainly earlier than the middle of the seventh century B.C.[180]

---

of a silver belt-buckle plated with gold"; No. 16 is a "fragment of a silver comb-shaped belt-buckle" that is the midrib of such a buckle, of the type of No. 4 in the Bernardini Tomb. We have other such tubular gold midribs of buckles, e.g., from Marsiliana (Randall-MacIver, Plate 35, No. 2) and from Falerii (Montelius, Plate 309, No. 20).

[179] Karo (Daremberg and Saglio, 4, 147–148, s.v. ocrea) says that they hardly appear before the fourth century B.C., though bronzes at the end of the fifth century are cited as showing greaves.

[180] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* 123, 133, 136, 156–157.

One fine pair, of hammered bronze, comes from the same tomb (in the First Circle of Le Pelliccie) from which came the proto-Corinthian helmet already described (see above, page 180). These greaves follow the form of the leg from knee to ankle; their surface is smooth and they have the usual series of little holes along the edges, probably for the attachment of the leather or cloth lining. The other two pairs are very similar to this one and are from the Devil's Circle [181] and from the Tomb of the Three Boats.[182] The examples commonly cited are much later: a pair from Sette Camini [183] near Orvieto, of the fourth century B.C., and greaves now preserved in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican, apparently from Vulci, of the early fourth century B.C.[184]

Interesting in connection with the early appearance of greaves at Vetulonia are the representations of greaves on the architectural terra cottas of Satricum and Falerii Veteres which have hitherto been believed to be exceptionally early (of the late sixth or the early fifth century B.C.) for Italy.[185] Much later, of course, are the greaves on the frieze [186] of the Tomba dei Rilievi at Caere.

Among Etruscan statuettes the finest illustration of greaves is seen on the well-known Mars from Todi in

[181] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 123.

[182] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans*, 136, Plate 25, No. 7.

[183] The same place which furnished the corselet described on page 186. The greaves also are modelled on the nude.

[184] See Daremberg and Saglio, 4, 147, n. 21; Dennis, 1, 456, 2, 476.

[185] McCartney, 151–152. Mr. McCartney seems to have misunderstood Rizzo (*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 1911, 33), who thinks that the thigh-pieces, not the greaves, are of leather.

[186] Noël des Vergers, 3, Plate 2 (cf. n. 75); Dennis, 1, 250–253.

the British Museum.[187] These greaves are decorated with incised volutes. The Todi Mars in the Vatican does not wear greaves.

Seymour[188] says that in the Iliad the shape and the material of greaves are generally not indicated; once only the Achaeans are called χαλκοκνήμιδες (7, 41). Silver anklets (ἐπισφύρια), which were probably gaiter-holders, are mentioned five times. In Mycenaean shaft-graves gold bands were found which must have been used to hold in place greaves of perishable material, cloth or leather.

As for Roman practice, the general opinion is that in very early times greaves were worn, if at all, in pairs. In the later Republic they were worn, it is generally thought, on only one leg. The former view is based on Livy's assignment (1, 43, 2–4) of *ocreae* to the two highest classes of the Servian army: the latter view is based on the statement of Vegetius (*De Re Militari* 1, 20) that the foot-soldiers, *scutati*, had, besides corselet and helmet, *ferreas ocreas in dextris cruribus*. Polybius (6, 23, 8), in describing the equipment of the legionary of his day, uses the singular προκνημίς. Meyer,[189] however, thinks that a pair of greaves is here meant and says that, when greaves appear on Roman grave reliefs, they are worn on both legs. The splendidly arrayed Samnites, who had shields of gold and silver (see above, page 143), had the left leg covered with the *ocrea* (Livy 9, 40, 3). This is true of the Sabines in the epic of Silius Italicus (*Punica* 8, 419). Weege[190] finds, on a wall-painting,

[187] This statuette and its replica in the Archaeological Museum in Florence have already been referred to (pages 185–186).

[188] 659–661.

[189] 234–235, n. 3.

[190] *Oskische Grabmalerei*, 152–153 (cf. n. 30).

one greave represented as a trophy on the spear of a Campanian, and, similarly, one greave among Samnite trophies on a vase from Capua, while the gladiators who were known as *Samnites* wore a greave on the left leg alone.

CHAPTER VIII

# THE RELATION OF AENEID III TO THE REST OF THE POEM

From the time when Friedrich Conrads published [1] the first systematic study of the method of composition employed by Vergil in the Aeneid [2] it has been recognized that Book III is especially involved in the contradictions existing between the various parts of the poem. It is not my purpose at this time to attempt an exhaustive study of this aspect of Book III; the industry of classical scholars in the last half-century renders needless further repetition of this sort.[3] I wish merely to present a few suggestions

[1] *Quaestiones Virgilianae, Program des Gymnasiums in Trier,* 1863.

[2] From the Donatus-Suetonius *Life of Vergil,* 23–24, we learn that the poem was first sketched out in prose, and that Vergil worked on the various parts as he liked, not taking them in order.

[3] Besides the early work of Conrads and of Ribbeck (*Prolegomena,* Chapter VI, Leipzig, 1866), a few of the later discussions are C. Schüler, *Quaestiones Vergilianae,* a Dissertation, Greifswald, 1883; F. Noack, *Die Erste Aeneis Vergils, Hermes* 27 (1892), 407–445; W. Kroll, *Studien über die Composition der Aeneis, Fleckeisens Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie, Supplementband* 27 (1902), 135–169; H. T. Karsten, *De Aeneidis Libro* III, *Hermes* 39 (1904), 259–290; A. Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis,* 1913; M. Marjorie Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920). I have not been able to consult the work of Sabbadini in this field. The epoch-making work of Conrads has not been accessible, but its substance seems to have been given in the work of his successors. Since this chapter was originally published (*The Classical Quarterly* 19 [1925], 85–91) I have received through the courtesy of Professor Carlo Pascal, of the University of Pavia, a copy of his paper, *La Composizione del Libro Terzo dell'Eneide* (Napoli, 1908). While his

which may help to reconcile the passages generally regarded as hopelessly contradictory.

Most obvious of all is the contradiction between the two views in the poem concerning the knowledge which the Trojans have of their ultimate goal. In Book III they set sail in the early summer, almost a year after the destruction of Troy,[4] uncertain of their destination (7). As Anchises afterwards admits (3, 184–187), no one had paid attention to Cassandra's frequent prophecy about the *Itala regna*. The goal is revealed to the exiles only gradually, in a series of prophecies, whose steady, progressive unfolding gives unity and dramatic climax to the book. But this effective and artistic plan of composition appears quite spoiled by the fact that, only a few lines before the beginning of Book III, the shade of Creusa, on the night of the fall of Troy, says (2, 780–782) to Aeneas:

Longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.

Can the resulting contradiction be explained? If not, Vergil must have intended either to excise Cre-

---

opinion of Aeneid III is much less favorable than mine, his arguments deal mainly with points other than those which I am here discussing and seem to me not to affect my general conclusions. He is concerned with such matters as the following: the large number of incomplete lines in *Aeneid* III; the lines which occur in *Aeneid* III and, in the same or similar form, in other books; variant lines, presumably by Vergil, which, the Daniel-Servius (on 204, 226) says, were written in two places on the margin of the manuscript of *Aeneid* III; the fact that the episode of Achaemenides in *Aeneid* III follows so closely upon that of Sinon in *Aeneid* II: Achaemenides is, he says, in some particulars, a mere double of Sinon.

[4] That Troy fell a little before the summer solstice is the common tradition (Dionysius 1, 63; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19).

usa's words [5] or to make fundamental changes in the plan of Book III; for it is hardly credible that Aeneas, distracted though he was, utterly forgot the words of his wife.

I believe that a natural solution lies in the fact that Creusa's description of the goal conveyed no definite information to Aeneas. *Hesperia* was only a 'western land' [6] to him, and, in such a connection, *Lydius Thybris* must have greatly perplexed him. For the time of the Trojan War the phrase is an anachronism, and it could hardly have meant anything but 'Trojan Tiber' [7] to Aeneas. The description of such a river as 'flowing through the fields of a western land' did not at all enlighten the distracted husband.

The situation is further complicated when, in taking leave of Helenus at Buthrotum, Aeneas, congratulating his host on having found a permanent abode and on having established a new Troy there, adds (3, 500–505), that he will build such a city in Hesperia and ally it with this city in Epirus, if ever he reaches the Tiber and its adjoining fields (*si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva intraro*). Now Hesperia has already been mentioned in Book III (163–166), but the Tiber has not; as the poem stands, Aeneas' reference to the Tiber here (3, 500) seems clearly an echo of Creusa's words in Book II, 781–782, that is, Aeneas had not forgotten Creusa's ob-

[5] Since this effective episode was, apparently, original with Vergil (Gercke, 37: cf. n. 3), it seems unlikely that he would have sacrificed it.

[6] Cf. E. Adelaide Hahn, *On an Alleged Inconsistency in the Aeneid, The Classical Weekly* 13 (1920), 210–212, 14 (1921), 122–126.

[7] The similarity between the name of the Italian *Thybris* and that of *Thymbris* in the Troad has already been pointed out by Carcopino, 777–778.

scure prophecy, but it has meanwhile been interpreted for him by that dream in which the *Penates* plainly told him that *Hesperia* was *Italia*, the home of the founder of the Trojan race (3, 163–171). From that time on, Creusa's *Lydius* < = *Troianus* > *Thybris* in *Hesperia* has significance for Aeneas; [8] hence his quite casual reference to the river in 3, 500.[9]

With the progressive character of the revelation of the goal in Book III there is only one other important conflict,[10] in 4, 345–346, where Aeneas, emphasizing to Dido the fact that he must press on to Italy, says that, if the fates had left him free in the matter, he would already have rebuilt Troy, but *Grynean* Apollo and the *Lycian* lots have bidden him seek Italy.

A literal (and, I think, a reasonable) interpretation

[8] Since writing this I have come upon a brief note by Noack, *Hermes* 27 (1892), 408, n. 2, in which he seems to approve this interpretation.

[9] In 5, 83, Aeneas himself applies to the river the epithet 'Ausonian.' Now, Ausonia has been mentioned to Aeneas, or by him, seven times before this in the poem (3, 170–171, 378, 385, 477, 479, 496; 4, 349). Aeneas understands it to be a name for Italy, and Helenus has explained that the Trojans are not to go to Eastern Italy, but to the Italy beyond Sicily (3, 396–440); in 477–479 he calls the goal the remote part of Ausonia. Hence come Aeneas' reference to 'the ever-retreating fields of Ausonia' (496–497) and the vagueness of his reference to Ausonian Thybris, *quicumque est* (5, 83).

[10] In Book I Latium is spoken of as the Trojans' goal by Aeneas (205) and by Ilioneus (554), though neither is represented as having heard the name in Books II and III. It is, however, difficult to believe that they have not heard it in all the time which has elapsed since they learned that Italy was their goal; particularly would they have been likely to hear it in some of the unrecorded discussions of their plans at Buthrotum. Moreover, the poet has himself been using Latium as the name of the goal (1, 6, 31), and Jupiter uses it thus in verse 265, so that it would have been very natural to let Aeneas and Ilioneus use it. *At this advanced stage* of the wanderings, the 'inconsistency' seems to me of trifling account.

of these lines requires us to assume that before leaving Asia Minor the Trojans had consulted Apollo's oracle at Gryneia and at Patara and had been directed to a goal in the West. Realizing the apparent conflict between such an interpretation and the entire plan of Book III, Servius explains [11] *Grynaeus* and *Lyciae* as examples of the conventional epithet; but one is loath to accept without further search so dubious a solution of the difficulty.

Now, at the beginning of Book III (1–8) we learn that in the period intervening between the fall of Troy and the departure from Asia Minor in the following spring, the Trojans did receive divine direction (4–6): [12]

> diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras
> auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa
> Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae.

Nevertheless, they set sail ignorant of their destination (3, 7 *incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur*). The gods would seem, then, to have given the Trojans no new information here; they probably indicated a journey *by sea* to a *western* land, as the vision of Hector (2, 289–295) and the shade of Creusa (2, 780–782) had already done on the night of the fall of Troy, for this is what the Trojans actually attempted at the beginning of Book III, in spite of their uncertainty as to the exact goal.

I would suggest that in Book IV, after *Hesperia* has

[11] After locating the *nemus Gryneum*, Servius adds (on 4, 345): Inde ergo nunc epitheton dedit, licet in Delo acceperit oraculum. On 346 he writes: LYCIAE SORTES nec hinc accepit responsum, sed sic dixit 'Lyciae,' ac si diceret Apollineae.

[12] Dionysius says (1, 55) that it was the Erythraean Sibyl who told the Trojans to sail towards the setting sun until they should come to a land where they would eat their tables.

been interpreted to Aeneas (1) as *Italia* (by the vision in Crete, 3, 163–166) and (2) as *Italia* beyond Sicily (by Apollo's priest at Buthrotum, 3, 396–440), it would be natural for Aeneas to say to Dido 'the gods have bidden me seek *Italy*.' The vague term, *Hesperia*, which Creusa had used, and which the oracles in Asia Minor may well have used, would have meant to Dido in her *western* home a land still farther west, a land such as Spain. In talking to her Aeneas simply uses the term (*Italia*) which she will understand to convey the meaning of Apollo, though Apollo had chosen to reveal that meaning to the Trojans themselves only gradually in the course of their wanderings.

As for the identification of some of the *auguria* mentioned in 3, 5 with those of Apollo at Gryneia and at Patara in Lycia, the nearness of Gryneia makes such a consultation possible enough; and it may be more than an interesting coincidence that a winter is included in the period of preparation for the voyage, and that it was in the winter that the oracle at Patara gave responses.[13]

A second inconsistency between Book III and other parts of the poem is often found in the fact that from certain passages in Book I and Book II one expects Venus to be the guide of the wandering Trojans, but that in Book III it is Apollo who constantly directs them.

[13] Servius on *Aen.* 4, 143: HIBERNAM LYCIAM . . . : nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem, dare responsa: unde Patareus Apollo dicitur. Heinze, 85, calls attention to the fact that Apollo, especially through the Delphic oracle, played an important rôle in the sending out of colonies. Schüler, 10, n. 1 (cf. n. 3), offers another explanation of 'Lycian': "Atque Lycios hoc loco esse Lycios Homeri et Lyciis quoque sortibus oraculum Apollinis Trojani non Patarei significari persuasit mihi Wilamowitzius."

This impression of Venus as guide seems to have come mainly from the passage in Book I where Aeneas, not recognizing his mother in the guise of a huntress, explains to her who he is and how he happens to be on the Libyan coast, adding (381–382):

> Bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
> matre dea monstrante viam data fata secutus.

In his comment on the phrase ' matre dea monstrante viam ' Servius says:

Hoc loco per transitum tangit historiam, quam per legem artis poeticae aperte non potest ponere. Nam Varro in secundo divinarum dicit ex quo de Troia est egressus Aeneas, Veneris eum per diem cotidie stellam vidisse, donec ad agrum Laurentem veniret, in quo eam non vidit ulterius: qua re terras cognovit esse fatales: unde Vergilius hoc loco ' matre dea monstrante viam ' *et eripe, nate, fugam,* item nusquam abero *et descendo ac ducente deo* et iamque iugis summae surgebat lucifer Idae. *Quam stellam Veneris esse ipse Vergilius ostendit qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda, quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes.*

Now, when the Trojans set out at the beginning of Book III, there is no mention of any such guidance from Venus. Save for a single reference to her as the wife of Anchises (475), she is mentioned only once [14] in this book, in 19, where she receives sacrifices along with the *divis auspicibus coeptorum operum* and with Jupiter.

[14] This is a marked departure from the tradition handed down by Dionysius (1, 49–53). He declares that many temples to Venus were founded by the Trojans in the course of their wanderings.

The Varronian tradition of Venus' leadership was doubtless known to Vergil and probably led him to write *matre dea monstrante viam;* but, even when Book III is left out of the reckoning, the function of 'leading' the Trojans belongs by no means exclusively to Venus. Besides the instances in Book II which Servius cites in the passage quoted above (on *Aen.* 1, 382) there are few clear cases[15] of her 'guidance': (1) 1, 330–400, where, in the guise of a huntress, she explains to Aeneas who the inhabitants of the African coast are, and bids (389) Aeneas go to Dido's city; (2) 6, 190–204, where his mother's birds guide Aeneas to the Golden Bough; (3) 12, 554–556, where Venus inspires Aeneas with a special plan in battle. But, in general, the goddess intercedes for her son (1, 229–253; 5, 779–798), and tries to provide for his safety or that of Ascanius (1, 664–688; 8, 370–386; 8, 520–536, 608–614; 10, 16–62, 132, 608–609; 12, 411–424); her function is maternal and protecting.[16]

On the other hand, Apollo is precisely the proper guide for the Trojans in Book III; not only is he particularly associated with the sending out of colonies,[17] but he is the great *augur Apollo,* whose revelations of the future are required by the underlying *motif* of this book. Nor does his guidance unaccountably cease with Book III; it is his prophetess

[15] In the first and last cases, the Carthaginian episode and the final battle, Venus is the foil of Juno, who herself defends her favorite, Dido, and, through Juturna, defends Turnus; in the second case the rôle of Venus is slight and indirect, as compared with that of Apollo's prophetess.

[16] Note especially *mater,* 8, 370 and *Veneris iustissima cura,* 10, 132. The cry of Aeneas in 1, 407–408 does not necessarily imply Venus' frequent *guidance* of her son.

[17] See page 199, n. 13.

who leads and instructs Aeneas in the Nekyia; and in Book VI (56–60) and Book VII (240–242) the poet shows that the idea of Apollo's leadership in the wanderings is one which he does not intend to disavow. Furthermore, Venus and Apollo are not the only guides of Aeneas; the needed revelation comes now through a dream, from the dead Hector (2, 289–295) or the dead Anchises (5, 730–737) or *deus Tiberinus* (8, 36–65), now from the shade of Creusa (2, 776–789) or the shade of Anchises in the lower world (6, 888–892).

A third inconsistency between Book III and the other books exists for those readers who feel that from Book III one would not infer that the wrath of Juno is the important *motif* which it clearly is in the rest of the poem. In reply I would point out that the action of Book III is earlier than that of any other book, save that of Book II; that Juno's wrath is, to be sure, mentioned in Book II (612), but that in the work of destroying Troy she is not alone — Neptune, Pallas, and Jupiter seem no less prominent (610–618); finally, that it is more effective not to make much use of this *motif* early in the action, but to reserve it [18] for the time when the Trojans are approaching their goal, when they have reason to hope that their troubles are nearly past. That Juno is, however, going to be a troublesome influence is plainly foreshadowed in Book III, (1) when Helenus says (379–380) that he can prophesy only part of the future of the Trojans, because the Parcae prevent his knowing the rest and Saturnian Juno forbids him to

[18] Heinze points out (96–98) that at first the wrath of Poseidon seems the chief cause of the wanderings of Odysseus, but that, as the story advances, it is even less prominent than is the wrath of Juno in the Aeneid.

speak, and (2), especially, when in the same prophecy Helenus declares (433–440) that one thing before all others he will tell Aeneas, and repeat his warning again and again, that Aeneas is, first of all, to entreat the divinity of Juno with prayers, pay her vows, and overcome her with suppliant gifts; on this condition will he finally leave Sicily and be sent to Italy, and, remembering the precepts which Helenus had emphasized particularly, sacrifice to Argive Juno (543–547).

A fourth class of inconsistencies arises from the different accounts of two portents (the *mensae adesae* and the white sow with her thirty young) and of the prophecy regarding the information which Aeneas is to receive from the Sibyl.

(1) In 3, 247–266, the eating of the tables is foretold by the Harpy-Fury, Celaeno. The prophecy is addressed, not simply to Aeneas, but to the Trojans in general (248, 259). Anchises seems to have been present; in any case, he soon knew of the prophecy (263–266). Celaeno's authorship is confirmed by a later reference to the matter in lines 365–367 (cf. 713). Now, when the prophecy is actually fulfilled at the mouth of the Tiber, Aeneas recognizes the fact, and tells the Trojans that they have reached their home, adding (7, 122–127):

> Genitor mihi talia namque
> (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
> " Cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
> accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas,
> tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
> prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta."

Aeneas orders a libation to Jupiter and Anchises, and Servius comments (on 134), ANCHISEN GENITOREM

bene Iovem et Anchisen, qui causa oraculi fuerunt. Aeneas, apparently, has no memory of the prophecy by the Harpy. But need the words *Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit* mean that Anchises was the *author* of the prophecy? In Book III Anchises seems to be 'honorary leader' of the expedition; he interprets[19] the dark sayings which characterize this book. It is significant, then, that Anchises is especially mentioned in the account of the reception of the prophecy of Celaeno (259–266). Perhaps he was discouraged by his previous lack of success, for he does not offer any interpretation of the *mensae adesae;*[20] he begs the gods to ward off such a calamity and protect the faithful (265–266). Therefore Aeneas, recognizing the fulfilment of the prophecy in Book VII, exclaims (121–127): 'Here is our home, this is our country; for such was the *mystery of the fates bequeathed to me by my father* — now I recall it: "When, my son, in the course of your voyage to unknown shores, hunger shall compel you to finish the feast and consume your tables, then in your weariness remember to hope for an abode there . . ." This was that famous hunger < foretold by Celaeno and never understood until now >!' Anchises had not been able to offer any solution of the strange prophecy; he had merely bidden Aeneas keep it in mind and watch for its fulfilment.

(2) The portent of the white sow has always troubled commentators, because they have expected

[19] At Delos he declares that the 'ancient mother' must be Crete (3, 103–117); in Crete, because of the pestilence, he advises returning to Delos (143–146); when the Penates finally explain that Italy is the mother of the Trojan race, it is to Anchises again that Aeneas submits their revelation (179–188).

[20] This is indicated by Aeneas' anxious remark to Helenus (3, 365–368), and, particularly, by Helenus' reply (394–395).

Aeneas' settlement to be Lavinium, some miles from the Tiber, whereas the appearance of the sow fixes the site on the bank of the Tiber (8, 43, 83; cf. 3, 389). Much light has been thrown on this difficulty by the interesting work of Carcopino, who has shown [21] that Vergil placed Aeneas' *first* settlement (New Troy) on the Tiber (9, 815–816) and close to the sea (9, 238), near the future site of Roman Ostia. In the poem the founding of Lavinium seems to be the ultimate purpose of Aeneas' wanderings (1, 258–259; 12, 193–194); the fact that this is not accomplished in the epic surprises us, but the poet has chosen a more dramatic climax in the defeat and the death of Turnus. It goes without saying that after his conquest Aeneas will be ready to devote himself to the works of peace.[22]

(3) The prophecy concerning the information which Aeneas is to receive from the Sibyl is made by Helenus, in 3, 458–460:

Illa <the Sibyl> tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem
*expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos.*

Before the time for the fulfilment of this prophecy in Book VI Anchises appears to Aeneas in a dream and tells him to go into Italy with his men, adding (5, 730–737):

> Gens dura atque aspera cultu
> debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
> infernas accede domos et Averna per alta

[21] 391–557.

[22] The argument for Lavinium as the city of Latinus, and for Aeneas' founding of Lavinium as a mere reconsecration of the existing city has been presented above, in Chapter II. It need not especially concern us here. It is the site of New Troy (not of Lavinium or of Alba Longa) which is indicated by the portent of the sow.

congressus pete, nate, meos. . . .
. . . . Huc casta Sibylla
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
Tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia
disces.

Anchises here implies that the function of the Sibyl will be that of guide, and that the knowledge of Aeneas' posterity and of his settlements will come from Anchises. Furthermore, when the time for the fulfilment of the first prophecy comes, the Sibyl does not, according to the commentators, tell what, we have been assured (3, 458–460), she will tell, but it is from Anchises that the promised information comes (6, 890–892). Such a position has some support in the fact that these lines from Book VI (890–892) are obviously an echo of those in Book III (458–460); but, on closer examination, the Sibyl's words contain more than the critics are disposed to grant.

In the first place, she does describe the character of the *bella ventura* (6, 86–92); in 95–97 she tells how Aeneas may escape from these trials or may bear them; to the *Italiae populos* she has time to make only brief reference in the mention of another Achilles (89), of the *gentes Italum* and the cities in verse 92; duly entreated, she does give Aeneas *cursus secundos* in the lower world. The fact that some phases of the expected information are only briefly indicated is accounted for by the impatience of Aeneas, who tells the Sibyl that he cares about nothing but getting to his father (103–109). In the second place, the word *expediet* (3, 460) does not require that all the information shall be given by the Sibyl in person; it is enough if she puts Aeneas in the way of receiving it by conducting him to his father.

The last important contradiction in which Book III is involved has to do with the chronology of the Trojan wanderings. When Dido asks Aeneas to relate the crafty devices of the Greeks and the sufferings of the Trojans, she adds (1, 755–756):

> nam te iam septima portat
> omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.

However, when we read the story of the wanderings in Book III, we find the time-element very vaguely indicated, and it is quite possible to provide for all the events in three or four years. Finally, when Iris, in the form of an aged Trojan woman, incites her companions to set fire to the Trojan ships, she says (5, 626–629):

> Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
> cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
> sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
> Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur undis.

Servius (on *Aen.* 5, 626) regards as insoluble the difficulty presented by these two occurrences of *septima aestas* (1, 755–756; 5, 626), and adds that Vergil would have removed the inconsistency. About a century and a half ago Heyne [23] made a suggestion which is still accepted by many scholars, that Anchises died in Sicily at the end of the sixth summer after the fall of Troy; that Aeneas went to Carthage early the next summer [24] and remained with Dido until late that summer, when he returned to Sicily and held the an-

[23] *P. Virgilius Maro* [3] (1793), *Excursus* II, on *Aeneid* III, page 425, n. T. W. Valentine, *The Classical Weekly* 21 (1928), 107–108, argues strongly that Vergil thought of Aeneas as coming to Carthage in the early winter, and as departing before winter ended.

[24] June is probably indicated in 1, 535.

niversary funeral-games, *still in the 'aestas septima.'* It must, however, be admitted that a natural interpretation of verses 4, 193 and 4, 309–310 implies more than the mere prospect of approaching winter [25] at Carthage. In the same Excursus Heyne [26] also presents a scheme for the chronology of Book III, by which the events are made to fill seven years; but the plan is a counsel of despair in at least one point, when Heyne admits that he is assigning two years to the Cretan sojourn because only in this way can the entire period be filled out!

I think we must admit that the chronological difficulties affecting Book III are not all capable of satisfactory solution as the poem stands; but the mere omission of the last sentence in Book I or the rewriting of 5, 626 would remove the striking inconsistencies. Furthermore, the fact that the events of Book III seem perhaps to occupy a comparatively small number of years does not necessarily so limit them. Aeneas was relating a long story, at a banquet, late at night (2, 8–9); therefore, he would select his episodes, linger over some of them, pass more rapidly over others, and concern himself very little with chronology.

In her useful work, *The Growth of the Aeneid,* Miss Crump has emphasized what she regards as the inferior literary quality of Book III as compared with the other books, but the blemishes which she adduces [27] are trifling when contrasted with the undoubted merits of the book. From a great mass of

[25] *Hiems* in *Aeneid* 4, 52 is, as Servius says (on 5, 626), equivalent to *tempestas,* but much less certain is Heyne's suggestion that in 4, 309 we have a reference to the *etesiae* of July and August.

[26] 422–428 (cf. n. 23).

[27] 28–30 (cf. n. 3).

tradition Vergil made an interesting story which was particularly well unified by an original *motif* — the *motif* of the progressive revelation of the Trojan goal. For the general idea of the wanderings he was probably indebted to the Odyssey, but " the only place in which the two lines of adventure actually touch " is, as Conington points out,[28] in the land of the Cyclops. To Vergil's own invention,[29] apparently, we owe such episodes as Aeneas' grisly experience at the tomb of Polydorus, his dramatic encounter with Celaeno, and the pathetic meeting with Andromache, which is certainly not lacking in high poetic quality. In the years which the scrupulous artist planned to devote to perfecting his work, Book III would undoubtedly have become a more finished poem; but that the book is so inconsistent with, or so inferior to, the rest of the Aeneid that Vergil would only have been satisfied with completely rewriting it seems to me an exaggerated view, not at all borne out by a consideration of the evidence.

[28] *The Works of Virgil with a Commentary,* 2 [4] (1884), 175.

[29] Cf. Heinze, 105–107, 89–91, 107–109; Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis, Buch VI* [2] (1916), 169.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THIS list includes only abbreviations of titles of books and articles that are frequently cited. If a book or an article is cited only a limited number of times in the notes to one chapter, its title is given in full in connection with the first citation; later citations give only the page or the pages involved, but reference is made back to the note in which the full title was given. References to the Aeneid are usually given in the form "2, 780–784", "3, 147–171." Occasionally, however, in the interests of clearness, "*Aen.*" is prefixed to the numbers.

A. I.: Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.

A. J. A.: American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series.

B. P. I.: Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana.

C. A. H.: Cambridge Ancient History.

Carcopino: Jérôme Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie (Paris, Boccard, 1919).

C. I. E.: Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.

C. I. L.: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

Daremberg and Saglio: Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, 5 volumes (Paris, Hachette, 1881–1919).

Della Seta: A. Della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia (Rome, Danesi, 1918).

Dennis: G. Dennis, The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria [3] (London, John Murray, 1883).

Fowler: W. Warde Fowler.

Aeneas: Aeneas at the Site of Rome: Observations on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid [2] (Oxford, Blackwell, 1918).

Clans: Virgil's "Gathering of The Clans": Being Observations on Aeneid VII 601–817 [2] (Oxford, Blackwell, 1918).

Religious Experience: The Religious Experience of the Roman People (London, Macmillan, 1911. The 1922 reprint was used).

Roman Festivals: The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic (London, Macmillan, 1899. The 1908 reprint was used).

Turnus: The Death of Turnus: Observations on the Twelfth Book of the Aeneid (Oxford, Blackwell, 1919).

Heinze: Richard Heinze, Virgils Epische Technik [3] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915. The 1928 reprint was used).

J. H. S.: Journal of Hellenic Studies.

J. R. S.: Journal of Roman Studies.

McCartney: Eugene S. McCartney, The Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria, in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, I (1915–1916), 121–165.

M. A.: Monumenti Antichi Pubblicati per Cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

Montelius: O. Montelius, La Civilisation Primitive en Italie depuis L'Introduction des Métaux (Stockholm, Imprimerie Royale, 1895–1910).

Murray: Gilbert Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic [3] (Oxford University Press, 1924).

Notizie: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.

Pais: Ettore Pais, Ancient Italy (in the translation by C. Densmore Curtis, University of Chicago Press, 1908).

Pauly-Wissowa: Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, new edition, by Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, and Kurt Witte (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1894– ).

Peet: T. Eric Peet, The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily (Oxford University Press, 1909).

Randall-MacIver: David Randall-MacIver.

Iron Age: The Iron Age in Italy: A Study of those Aspects of the Early Civilization Which are neither Villanovan nor Etruscan (Oxford University Press, 1927).

Italy: Italy Before the Romans (Oxford University Press, 1928).

The Etruscans (Oxford University Press, 1927).

Villanovans: The Villanovans and Early Etruscans: A Study of the Iron Age in Italy as it is seen near Bologna, in Etruria, and in Latium (Oxford University Press, 1924).

R. M.: Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge.

Seymour: Thomas Day Seymour, Life in the Homeric Age [2] (New York, Macmillan, 1914).

Taylor, Local Cults: Lily Ross Taylor, Local Cults in Etruria, in Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 2 (1923).

Von Duhn: F. von Duhn, Italische Gräberkunde, Erster Teil (Heidelberg, Winter, 1924).

Wissowa, Religion: Georg Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer [2] (Munich, Beck, 1912).

# INDEX


Abas, leads Aeneas' allies from Populonia and Ilva, 69; name of, 69, n. 13.

*Aclys,* derivation of, 151.

*Aclys teres,* assigned to Latin troops from Upper Campania, but not used in battle, 141, 150, 166; Servius' description of, 150; assigned by Silius Italicus to Campanians and Spaniards, 150; possible use of, in pairs, 150; Milani's identification of, 151; in Oscan tomb-paintings, 151; similar to *cateia,* 163.

Adriatic, prehistoric trade on, 1, 2–3, 39; Late-Minoan influence in, 3–4; legends of Diomede around, 36–39; Pelasgians come to Italy by, 47.

Aegean influence, not impossible in Southern Italy in Bronze Age, 5; traditions of, on Campanian coast, 16–18; possible in Southern Italy and Sicily in neolithic times, 18–19; felt as far north as Liguria in neolithic times, 18, n. 42; doubtful, on west coast of Italy before Etruscans, 19–20; at Satricum, 92. See also Cretan, Minoan, Mycenaean.

*Aeneid* III, inconsistent with other parts of the *Aeneid,* Chapter VIII; incomplete and variant lines in, episode of Achaemenides in, 194, n. 3; goal of Trojans in, 195–199, 209; unity of, 195, 197, 208–209; parts of, original with Vergil, 209; compared with wanderings of Odysseus, 202, n. 18, 209; literary merits of, 209.

*Ager Clusinus,* inhabitants of, in Etruscan times, predominantly cremating, 66; simple culture in, 67, 155.

*Agger,* of Aeneas' camp by the Tiber, 138–139.

Agylla, names of, in *Aeneid,* 46; Vaccina, near, 46, n. 110; Pelasgians at, 46, 73, n. 29, and traditional founders of, 47, 50–51; cult of Silvanus near, 46–47; origin of name of, 48–49; Etruscans at, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51; Etruscans preceded by cremating Italici at, 51; many tombs at, dating from seventh century B.C. to the Empire, not fully published, 51–52; Phocaean captives stoned to death near, 111, 119. See also Caere.

*Ala,* meaning of, in *Aeneid,* 136.

Alba Longa, founding of, from Lavinium, 61; founding of Satricum from, 89, n. 4.

Alban Hills, contacts of pre-Hellenic Cumae with, 22; geographical relation of Ardea to, 29–30; cremating Italici in Volscian territory show contacts with, 89–90; bronze pectoral from, 188.

Albunea of *Aeneid* 7, 83 a wood near Lavinium (modern Prattica di Mare), 59, n. 15.

Alsium, Siculi expelled from, by Pelasgians, 70, n. 17; a port of Caere, 75–76.

Amiternum, *cohors* of, 135; a relief from, 169, n. 106.

*Ammentum,* a missile, of spear-type, in *Aeneid,* 146–147; in Caesar, Ovid, Silius Italicus, 147; ancient representations of, 147.

*Amphora Canusina* shows funeral of Patroclus, 110–111.
Apollo, Helenus priest of, 1; Archegetes, 2, 105; Temple of, at Cumae, 16, 27, 28, 29; tutelary deity on ship of Abas, 69; terra cotta statue of, from Veii, 69; bronze statue of, from Piombino, 69; Grynean, 105, 197, 199; *Lyciae sortes* of, 105, 197–198, 199; Temple of, on Palatine, 175, n. 126; guide of Trojans, 199, 201–202; *augur,* 201.
Apulia, early trade of, with Balkans, 2–3; possible examples of Mycenaean products in, 19.
Arcadians, in Cyprus, 38, 39, 41; in Homer, an inland people, 39; in Crete, 39–40; in Sicily, 40; in Magna Graecia, 40, 42, 43; long-lived, 41, n. 97; at Rome, 39, 40–42, 43–46; shepherd-cults of, 42; relation of Roman Lupercalia to, 44–45.
Ardea, site of, 29–30, 34; walls of, 30–31; Roman colony of, 30; periods in history of, 30–32; early cemetery of, 31; chamber-grottoes at, 31, n. 71; inhuming population of, 32; further excavation needed at, 32; traditions of Greek founding of, 33; cult of Juno at, 33–34; region of, fits Vergil's description, 134.
Argyrippa (Argyripa). See Arpi.
Arpi (Argyrippa, Argyripa), Diomede at, 34, 36; traditional founding of, 36; name of, 34, 36, 38; region of, shows traces of Diomede, 36; importance of, 36–37; no proof of Greek origin of, 37.
Asilas, leader of Aeneas' allies from Pisae, 69, 72; priestly character of, 69, 72; derivation of name of, 72, n. 27; name of a Trojan, 72, n. 27.
Astur, beauty of, 73; leader of Aeneas' allies from region of Caere, 73; origin of name of, 77–78.
Aules Feluskes, *stele* of, 161–162, 179.
Aulestes, a leader of Aeneas' Mantuan allies, 84; traditional founder of Perusia, 84; relation of, to Ocnus, 84; Etruscan derivation of the name of, 85–86; ship of, 86.

Balkans, trade from, to Adriatic slope of Italy, 3, 39.
*Balteus,* 186–187; of Pallas, 187.
Barberini Tomb, gold work from, 25, 142; date of, 142; fragments of bronze shields from, 174; no helmets from, 180; girdles and belt-clasps from, 188, n. 170, 189.
Battle-Axe, used by Latin troops, 141, 160; as extemporized weapon, 159; Latin terms for, 159–160; materials of, in *Aeneid,* 160; of stone, bronze, iron, in primitive Italy, 160–161; in Latium, 160–161; in Mycenaean times, 161; in Etruscan tombs, 161–162; in Bologna deposit, 161, n. 72; rare in Homer, 162; not used by Romans in historic times, 162; *cateia* probably a form of, 151–152, 162–164.
Belt, in *arma* of *Aeneid,* 186–187; Latin terms for, 186–187; materials of, 187; *bullae* of, 187; uses of, 187; bronze fragments of, from Rome, Etruria, Faliscan territory, Marino, etc., 187–188; in Homeric Poems, 188–189; made of leather foundation and metal plates, 189; not excluded by use of *lorica,* 189; metal clasps of, from Etruscan tombs, 189. See also *Balteus.*
Bernardini Tomb, gold work from, 25, 142; date of, 142; iron hatchet and iron axe from, 161; iron daggers from, 167; fragments of bronze shields from,

174; gold-plated silver disks from, 174, n. 124; no helmets from, 180; belt-clasps from, 189.
Bologna (Bononia), trade from Balkans with, 3; double burials at, in transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age, 118; depository of bronze objects at, 161, n. 72; Certosa *situla* at, 164; fragments of belts from, 188, n. 171, 189. See also Felsina.
Bow and Arrows, used by both armies in *Aeneid,* 153, 154–155; Greek and Roman opinion of, 153; growing use of, in Roman army, 153–154; suitable for Camilla, 154; Latin terms for, 154–155; materials of, 154–156; carried by Etruscans, 67, 155; in Etruscan art, 155; quiver for, 155; as poisoned weapons, 156; in prehistoric graves in Italy, 156; Vergilian use of, contrasted with Homeric, 156.
Bronze, in *arma* of *Aeneid,* 140, 141, 143–144, 146, 156, 160, 165, 170, 172, 176, 178, 182, 184; in *arma* of Homeric Poems, 143–144, 146, 156, 162, 192.
Bronze Age, trade from Greece and Levant passed Southern Italy in, 5; migrations in Italy at end of, 19; furniture of pre-Hellenic graves at Cumae shows transition from, 21; pottery of, at Satricum, 91; burials at Bologna show transition from, 118; type of warfare in, 131; setting of Homeric Poems in, 143–144; setting of *Aeneid,* later than, 143–144; arrow-points from, 156; Latian axes from, 160; sickle, common form in Southern Italy in, 166, n. 90.
Burning brands as weapons (*fax, torris ambustus, sudes obustae*), in *Aeneid,* 159.
*Bustuarii,* Etruscan gladiators on grave-urns regarded as, 111; gladiators regarded as, by Romans, 111–112.
Buthrotum, location of, 1, 2; Aeneas, and Helenus at, 1, 2, 196.

Caere, ally of Aeneas, 73; some allies of Turnus from, 73; oppressed by Mezentius, 73; Pelasgians at, 73, n. 29; early appearance of, in literature, 73, n. 29; recognized friend of Rome, 74; member of Etruscan League, 74, n. 31; ports of, 75–76; Phocaean captives stoned to death near, 111, 119. See also Agylla.
*Caetra,* assigned to Oscans, 141, 166, 170; material of, 170; theories of Weege and Milani concerning, 170–171; like *pelta,* 171.
Calabria, as defined by ancient and modern geographers, 2, n. 2; early trade of, with Balkans, 2–3; contained Campi Sallentini, 5, Promontorium Sallentinum (*sive* Iapygium), 6, Petilia (according to Servius' definition of Calabria), 6, Castrum Minervae, 7–8; possible examples of Mycenaean products in, 19.
Camilla, picturesque, 87, 88; leader of Volscian cavalry, 87, 88; known in Etruscan towns, 93; garb of, 93; story of, appears first in *Aeneid,* 94; sources of Vergil's picture of, 94–95, 96, n. 25; in ancient art, 95; in later literature, 95–96; shows love of finery, 106.
Campi Sallentini, location of, 2, 5; traditional settlement of, 2, 5–6; chief towns of, 5, n. 12, 6; possible neolithic settlements in, 6.
Caracupa, location of, 89; inhuming Italici preceded by cremating Italici at, 89; necropolis at, shows inhumation graves from early Iron Age to end of seventh century B.C., 90–91.
Castrum Minervae, modern Castro,

6–8; Badisco, neolithic grotto of, 6, 7; topography of, fits *Aeneid* 3, 530–536, 7–8; Temple of Minerva at, 8.
*Cateia,* derivation of, 162.
*Cateia,* as weapon, assigned in the Catalogue of Book VII to troops from Lower Campania, but not used in battle, 141, 162; mentioned first by Vergil, 162; a missile, but not of spear-type, 151–152, 162–164; similar to *aclys teres,* 163; difficult to operate, 163; probably resembled the *francisca,* 163; perhaps represented on Watsch plaque and on the Certosa *situla,* 164.
*Caterva,* meaning of, in *Aeneid,* 136.
Caulon (Caulonia), location of, 12; traditional founding of, 12; modern Caulonia (Castelvetere) not exactly on site of ancient, 12.
Cave of Cumaean Sibyl, location of, 26; recent excavations of, 26–27; history of, 27–28; condition of, in Vergil's day, 26–28; double-axe on entrance-arch of, 28, n. 64.
Celaeno (Harpy), conflicts in story of, 203–204.
Ceres, Temple of, at Troy, 105.
Certosa, *situla* from Etruscan *sepulcretum* of, 164.
Chalcidians, at Cumae, 14–16, 18, 20, 23, 24; in western Mediterranean, 16; Gabrici's theory about the pottery of, 23–24, 25; in Vergil's Cumae, 29; language of, 50–51.
*Chalybs,* available for weapons in Vulcan's workshop, 141, n. 26, 172.
*Cista* from Praeneste, relation of, to Camilla's story, 95.
Clubs as weapons, in *Aeneid,* 141, 159; mentioned in *Iliad,* 159; in Roman army, 159.
Clusium, ally of Aeneas, 65–66; not one of earliest Etruscan settlements in Italy, 65; friendly connections of, with Latium, 65–66; helps the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus, 65; predominance of Italic cremating stock at, 66; member of Etruscan League, 74, n. 31; bronze and iron clasps from, 189.
*Cohors,* meaning of, in *Aeneid,* 135–136.
Coins, of Croton, 11–12; of Populonia, 69; showing *geminae cristae,* 177.
*Colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana,* at Pisae, 71–72; patrons of, 71.
Corselet, needed with *clipeus,* 181–182; Latin terms for, 181; more common in *Aeneid* than in Homer, 182; in Mycenaean times, 182; materials of, 182–184; *lorica bilix, trilix,* 182–183; shape and size of, 183, 186; primitive type of, 184; metal plates for, from Esquiline and Etruscan tombs, 184–185, 186; on early bronzes and terra cottas, 185–186; in Vergil's time, 186.
Cosa (Cosae), named with Clusium among Aeneas' allies, 65, 66–67; harbor-town, 66; polygonal walls of, 66; Roman colony of, 66; bearing of remains found at Succosa on, 66–67.
Cremating Italici, of west-central Italy, in contact with pre-Hellenic Cumae, 22; at and near Caere, 51–52, 118; near Populonia, 68; important element in the Prisco-Latini, 79–80; in Volscian territory, 89–90, 91; at Bologna, 118. See also Cremation.
Cremation, exceptional in Etruscan tombs, 66, 118, 122, n. 4; practice of Trojans and Greeks in Homer, 121; practice of Central Italy in Vergil's time, 121; practice limited to Central

Latium in primitive times, 121; important Vergilian passage concerning, 122–124; individual cases of, in *Aeneid*, 125–127; rite of, employed with discrimination in *Aeneid*, and generally ascribed to Trojans and Arcadians, 127. See also Cremating Italici.

Cretan influence, tradition of, in Campi Sallentini, 2, 5–6, in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, 16, n. 39; Vergilian view of, at Cumae, 16–17, 28; evidence for, at Cumae, 18–20; suggested by double-axe on entrance-arch of Cave of Sibyl, 28, n. 64; in Mediterranean basin, 14, 18. See also Aegean, Minoan, Mycenaean.

Crete, Aeneas tries to settle in, 1, 199, 204, n. 19, 208; Daedalus goes to Cumae from, 16–17, 28; Vergil's conception of, 16–17; traditional source of worship of Cybele, 17; painted ware of, in neolithic times, 19; Anchises' conception of, 16–17, 204, n. 19.

Creusa, shade of, instructs Aeneas, 1; obscure prophecy by, 195–197, 198, 199.

Croton (modern Cotrone), location of, 10; neolithic inhabitants in vicinity of, 11.

*Crudus pero*, worn by Caeculus' slingers, 140; value of, 140, n. 21.

Cult of the Dead, Arcadian, 100, 104; in prehistoric Greece, 100–102; in Greek mythology, 102–103; hero-cults, survivals of, 102; in Anatolia, 107–108; Trojan, in *Aeneid*, 108; in Etruria, 109–111; in case of two Curiatii, 116; in prehistoric graves in Italy, 117–118. See also Human Sacrifice.

Cumae, oldest Greek settlement in West, 13, 18; Eusebius' date for, 13–14, 22, n. 53; traditional Greek settlers of, from Chalcis in Euboea, 14–16, 18, from Κύμη in Euboea, 14–16, from Κύμη in Asiatic Aeolis, 14–16, from Eretria, 16; modern views of date of Greek settlement at, 20, 24 (Gabrici), 24–25 (Randall-MacIver); pre-Hellenic indigenous settlement at, 21–23; Umbro-Sabellian kinship of indigenous settlers at, 22; Italian contacts of indigenous settlers at, 22; date of pre-Hellenic settlement at, 21, 22 (Gabrici), 25–26 (Randall-MacIver); coming of Greek influence to, 22–23; Temple of Apollo at, 16, 27, 28, 29; traditional Cretan connections of, 16–20, 28; Cave of Sibyl at, 26–28; Vergil's conception of, 28–29.

Cupavo, leader of Aeneas' Ligurian allies, fit subject for poetry, 78–79.

Cybele. See Magna Mater.

Daedalus, connections of, with Crete and Cumae, 16, 17, 28, 29, and with Chalcis, 16, n. 38, 29.

Danubian regions, possible source of 'Aegean' objects found on west coast of Italy, 19–20; original home of both Greeks and Phrygians, 119.

*Di magni*, taken from Troad by Aeneas, 105; identity of, 105.

Diomede, tradition of, at Castrum Minervae, 8, n. 19, at Argyrippa (Arpi), 34, 36, 38; Aetolian and Argive connections of, 34–35; prominent at Troy, 35; fate of, after the fall of Troy, 35–37; traditions of, in Italy, 36–38; aid of, sought by Latins, 34; legends and cult of, around Adriatic, 36–39; association of, with horses, 38.

Διόνυσος Ὠμηστής, human sacrifice to, 103.

*Diva Lacinia*, name of, 10–11;

Temple of, 10–11; nature of, 11–12.
*Dolo*, assigned in the Catalogue of Book VII only to Latin troops, and not used in battle, 141; probably a short pointed sword or dagger, 148–149.

Εἰλείθυια (Λευκοθέα), shrine of, at Pyrgi, 75; Italic divinity of childbirth, 75.
Elba. See Ilva.
Electrum in *arma*, in *Aeneid*, 144, 190; in Homeric Poems, 144.
Epirus, Helenus in, 1, 2; connection of, with Coppa Nevigata, 9, n. 22; early connection of, with Eastern Italy, 37–38, 39; settlers from, at mouth of Po, 47.
*Equites*, in *Aeneid*, 131–132, 133, 134; in Livy and Dionysius, 132; originally foot-soldiers mounted for speed, 132–133; in technical sense, appear in Roman army first in fourth century B.C., 132–133; in army of Romulus, 133; in army of Servian Constitution, 133–134; after Social War, 134.
Esquiline, archaeological 'finds' from the, 160, 166–167, 173, 179, 184.
Etruscan League, Pisae not a member of, until Imperial times, 71, n. 23; Caere, Clusium, Populonia, members of, 74, n. 31; Perusia, member of, 84; cities of, sent out colonies across Apennines, 84, n. 57.
Etruscans, Lydian origin of, 44; at Caere, 46–47, 49–52, 73–75; cult of Silvanus among, 46–47; followed Pelasgians and Siculi in Etruria, 47; same as Pelasgians, 49, 50; influence of, at Lavinium, 60; allies of Aeneas, Chapter III, *passim*, 99, 123, 136, 140, n. 20; earliest settlements of, in Italy, 65, 93; not predominant in *Ager Clusinus*, 66; occupied Campania, 67; unfriendly to Ligurians, 68, 70, 78, 80; among Latin forces, 73; northern dodecany of, colonies of southern dodecany of, 82–83, 84, n. 57; driven from Po Valley, 83, n. 54; early trade-route of, 84; relations of, with Volscians, 88, 92, 93–94; cult of dead among, 109; art of, 109–111, 119–120, 164, 178, 179, 185–196; human sacrifice by, 111, 113, 114–116, 119–120; religious books of, 111, 114, 115; gladiators adopted by Rome from, 111; hostility of, to Gauls, 115–116; generally practised inhumation, 66, 118, 121, 122, n. 4, 124–125, 127; war-chariots and weapons in tombs of, 132, 146, 174, *et passim*; military indebtedness of Rome to, 142.
Euboea, Euboeans, connections of, with Cumae, 14–16, 18; in *Aeneid*, 29.
Evander on Palatine, story of (39–46), not original with Vergil, 39, n. 92; not absurd, but not proved, 39–41, 45–46; accepted in Augustan Age, 41–42, 45; first appears in literature in third century B.C., 42–43; in Bayet's opinion, invented by Greeks of Southern Italy, 42–43; in Gruppe's opinion, has some historical basis, 43–44; persists in Roman Empire, 45.

Falerii Veteres, architectural terra cottas from, 166, n. 90, 181, 186, 191.
Faunus, oracle of, in *silva Albunea*, 59, n. 15.
Felsina, date of founding of, 83, 84; *princeps Etruriae*, 83; traditional founding of, 84; traditional relation of, to Perusia and Mantua, 84. See also Bologna.

*Fossae,* of Aeneas' camp, 138, n. 18, 139.
*Francisca,* resemblance of *cateia* to, 163–164.
*Funda* and *Glandes,* used by Latin troops, 141, 157; no clear cases of use of, in Homeric battles, 157; a Mycenaean weapon, 157; in Etruscan frescoes, 157, n. 61; in Servian army, 157; growing importance of, in Roman army, 157; generally the weapon of *auxilia,* 158.

Gabii, treaty with, inscribed on shield, 172–173.
Galassi Vase, early Greek inscription on, 50–51.
*Galeri,* assigned in Catalogue of Book VII to Caeculus' men, 140, 178.
Gauls, Clusium helps Rome repel, 65; Camillus drives out, 74; Caere helps Rome on invasion by, 74; Liguria, buffer state against, 80–81; power of, in region near Mantua, 83; Insubrian, joined by Cenomani, 83, n. 55; Insubrian, invasion by, 114–115; hostility of, to Etruscans, 115–116; practised human sacrifice, 116.
Gold, in *arma* of *Aeneid,* 141, 142, 154, 155, 165, 172, 176–177, 182, 184, 187, 190; in Homeric Poems, 142; in prehistoric Latium and Etruria, 142; on Samnite weapons, 142–143, 192.
*Gorytus,* quiver of bowmen from Cosae and Clusium, 155; compared with *pharetra,* 155, n. 56; ancient examples of, 155, n. 56.
Graviscae, *intempestae,* 73; traditional port of Tarquinii, 75, 76; uncertain location and meagre history of, 76–77; relation of, to Aeneas' expedition, 73, 75, 76–77.
Greaves (*ocreae*), not unusual in *Aeneid,* 190; materials of, 190; early appearance of, in Etruscan tombs, 190–191; on terracottas of Satricum and Falerii Veteres, 191; on Etruscan statuettes, 191–192; in *Iliad,* 192; in Mycenaean shaft-graves, 192; at Rome, worn singly and in pairs, 192; among Samnites, 192, 193; in Silius Italicus, 192; of gladiators, 193.
Greek geometric pottery, on site of Locri, 5; at Coppa Nevigata and in Borgo Nuovo of Taranto, 9, n. 22; in Greek graves at Cumae, 23–25; at Prattica di Mare (Lavinium), 61.

Helmet, Latin terms for, 176; materials of, 176–178; *cristae* of, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181; feathers on, 177; with *geminae cristae,* on coins, 177; animal figures on, 177–178; primitive types of, 140, 178; types of, from Esquiline and Etruscan sites, 179; ridge-crest type of, frequent in Etruria, 179–180; *pilleus*-type of, 180, 181; proto-Corinthian type of, in *Aeneid,* from Etruria, 180, 191.
Hercules, descendant of (Phalantus), at Taranto, 9; Iolaus and Thespiads in Italy in time of, 17–18; Manto, daughter of, 85; opposed to human sacrifice, 116–117; *clava* of, 159; Aventinus, seed of, 176.
*Hesperia,* meaning of, 196–197, 198–199.
Hissarlik, finely-wrought bone object in second city of, similar to bone objects in graves of Eastern Sicily, 19.
Human Sacrifice, in cult of Diomede, 38, 102; in honor of Pallas and Patroclus, slain in battle, 97–98, 110–111, 119; in Homer and Vergil, 97–99, 102, 118–120; characteristic of barbaric peoples, 99; philosophy

underlying, 99; ancient tradition of, in Arcadia, 99–100, 119; in prehistoric Greece, 100–101, 102; among Sumerians, 101; among Scythians, 101–102; in cult of Peleus and Chiron, 102; in Cyclic Poets, Greek tragedy, Greek mythology, 102–103; in ancient art, 102, n. 15, 110–111, 119; at Salamis, 103–104; in time of Herodotus, 103–104; at tomb of Philopoemen, 104, 119; suggested survival of, in cult of Cybele, 107; at Troy, 108–109; in Etruria, 109–112, 113, 115–116, 119–120; regarded by Romans as barbarous, un-Roman, contrary to *Ius divinum,* 112, 113, n. 42; gladiators, substitutes for, 111–112; by Octavian, 112–113, 120; by Julius Caesar, 113–114, 120; by Sextus Pompey, 114; by Sulla's order, 114; victims in, two Greeks and two Gauls, 114–116; forbidden by Senate, 116; in case of two Curiatii, 116; among Carthaginians and Gauls, 116; possible survivals of (*Argei, oscilla, sigillaria, maniae, pilae, ver sacrum*), 60, 117; evidence of, in prehistoric graves in Italy, 117–118. See also Cult of the Dead.

Ilva (modern Elba), among Aeneas' allies, 68; relation of, to Populonia, 68; rich in iron, 68.

Inhumation, probably practised on Promontorium Sallentinum in neolithic times, 6; at pre-Hellenic Cumae, and in later periods at Cumae, 21, 22, 23; at Ardea, 32; at Lavinium, 61; Etruscan practice of, not predominant in *Ager Clusinus,* 66, 118, 122, n. 4; Ligurian practice of, 79; Rutulian and Volscian practice of, 89, 91–92, 121; at pre-Etruscan Bologna, 118; practice of, by Etruscans, in Vergil's time, 121; important Vergilian passage concerning, 122–124; desired by Latins and by Mezentius, 124–125; of Camilla and Tarquitus, 124, n. 6; of Sychaeus, 125, n. 7; ascribed with discrimination to various peoples in *Aeneid,* generally to Etruscans and the great bulk of the Latin allies, 127; regarded by Cicero as earliest practice at Rome, 128; at Watsch, 147.

Ἵππεῖς, in *Iliad,* 131, 132, 133.

Iron Age, pottery of, at Coppa Nevigata, 9, n. 22; transition from Bronze Age to, seen in contents of pre-Hellenic graves at Cumae, 21, 25; at Prattica di Mare (Lavinium), 61–62; cremating Italici in Volscian territory before, inhuming Italici in Volscian territory in Early, 89, 91, 93, 168; setting of *Aeneid* in, 144; axes of late Bronze Age, in Latium, last into, 160.

Iron in *arma,* of *Aeneid,* 141, 143, 145, 146, 155, 160, 165, 166, 170, 172; of Homeric Poems, 143, 146, 156; in Statius, 183, n. 153; in Varro, 183, n. 155.

Juno, wrath of, 2, 202–203; worshipped at Castrum Minervae, 8, on Promontorium Lacinium, 10–12; at Ardea, 33–34; helps to destroy Troy, 105; Venus, foil of, 201, n. 15.

Jupiter, Crete, as island of, 17; aids Greeks on last night of Troy, 105, 202; Aeneas prays to, 105–106, 106–107; Aeneas sacrifices to, 200.

Knossos, fall of, 3; Palace of, 19, 28; Arcadians near, 39.

Κύμη, in Eastern Euboea, 14–16; in Asiatic Aeolis, 14–15.

Latinus, city of. See Lavinium.
*Laurentes,* inhabitants of Lavinium, in Livy, 55–56.
*Laurentes Lavinates,* in inscriptions at Prattica di Mare (Lavinium), 55–56.
*Laurentum* does not occur in *Aeneid* as noun, 53.
Laurentum, not city of Latinus, 53–54; no evidence for town of, in primitive Italy, 53–54; name of colony of villas in *Ager Laurens* in Republican period, 56; name of Imperial Villa, with *Laurentes vico Augustano* as inhabitants, 54, n. 3, 56.
Lavinium (modern Prattica di Mare), city of the Laurentes, 54–56; site of, established by inscriptions and by Livy, 55–56; seat of *Laurentes Lavinates,* 55–56; founding of, by Aeneas, 56–58, 205; region of, confirmed by Vergil's description, 58–60, 134; Liberalia at, 60; archaeological remains at, 55, 60–61; relation of, to Alba Longa, 61; civilization of, 61–63; not scene of portent of White Sow, 204–205.
Lead in *arma,* of *Aeneid,* 141, 144, 157; lacking, in *arma* of Homeric Poems, 144.
*Legio,* meaning of, in *Aeneid,* 135.
Λευκοθέα. See Εἰλείθυια.
Liberalia, at Lavinium, 60.
*Libri fatales,* early at Rome, 111; kept by *Quindecemviri,* 111; not distinguished from *libri Sibyllini,* 111, 115, n. 45; perhaps authorized human sacrifice, 114–115.
*Libri Sibyllini,* not distinguished from *libri fatales,* 111, 115, n. 45; perhaps authorized human sacrifice, 114–115.
Ligurian, as an archaeological term, 79.
Ligurians received Aegean wares in neolithic times, 18, n. 42; at Ilva, 68; origin of Pisae due to, 70; among Aeneas' allies, 78–81; wars of, with Etruscans, 78, 80; led by Cupavo, 78–79; great antiquity of, 79–80; important element in Roman race, 79–80; boundaries of, 80; varying relations of, with Rome, 80–81; *genus acre virum* (*Georgics* 2, 167–169), 81; craftiness of, 81; mendacity of, 81–82.
Liparite objects, in Palace of Knossos, 19.
Locri, traditions of founding of, by Greeks, 2, 4; Greek colony of, preceded by commerce with Greece, 5; earlier population of Siculi at, 4–5; trade of, with Campania and Central Italy, 5; region of, inhabited in neolithic times, 4.
Lupercalia at Rome, bearing of, on story of Evander, 44; Greek elements in, 44–45.
*Lyciae sortes,* source of advice to Aeneas in Troad, 105, 197–198, 199.

Magna Mater (Cybele), traditional source of cult of, 17; lions of, on figure-head of Aeneas' ship, 65, 86, n. 66, 106; protectress of Trojan fleet, 65, 106; brought to Rome, 106; *ludi* of, 106; detains Creusa, 106; symbol of Rome, 106; Chloreus, priest of, 106; invoked by Aeneas, 106–107; orgiastic cult of, in Catullus, 107.
Manipular organization of Roman army, in Vergil's time, 136–137; no certain trace of, in *Aeneid,* 136–137; *signa* especially needed with, 138; *pilum,* chief missile in, 150.
Mantua, among Aeneas' allies, 82; importance of, questionable, 82–84; relation of, to Felsina and Perusia, 84; traditions of found-

ing of, 84; Greek influence at, 85; topography of, 86; region of, important in neolithic and eneolithic times, 86, 118.
Mars of Todi, in Vatican, 179–180; in British Museum and in Florence, 185–186, 191–192.
Massicus, leads Aeneas' allies from Clusium and Cosa, 65, 67, n. 9; derivation of, 67.
Mater Matuta, at Satricum, 75, 92, 93, n. 13; perhaps same as Εἰλείθυια (Λευκοθέα) at Pyrgi, 75; resembles Iuno Lucina, 92.
*Mensae adesae,* conflicts in story of, 203–204.
Metals in *arma* in *Aeneid,* 141–145. See also names of specific metals.
Military standards (*signa*), infrequently mentioned in *Aeneid,* 137; lend Roman color to narrative, 137–138; needed with manipular arrangement of troops, 138. See also *Vexillum.*
Minerva. See Pallas.
Minio, dwellers near, among Aeneas' allies, 73, 75, 76–77.
Minoan influence, Late-, in Southern Italy, Sicily, up the Adriatic, 3–4, 19, at Punta del Tonno, 9–10, on west coast of Italy, 19–20. See also Aegean, Cretan, Mycenaean.
Mycenae, shaft-grave at, 100; inhumation-tombs of lower city at, 100–101; 'rich in gold,' 142; fragment of silver vase from, 157.
Mycenaean influence, at Punta del Tonno, 9–10, 19; at Coppa Nevigata and on the mainland of Italy, 9, n. 22; suggested by conical covering of Greek *fosse* at Cumae, 23; in *fibulae* of pre-Hellenic graves at Cumae, in types of sub-Mycenaean geometric period, 21–22. See also Aegean, Cretan, Minoan.
Neapolis, colony of Cumae, 14–15.
Neolithic Age, trade across Adriatic in, 2–3, 39; possible traces of, at Locri, 4; traces of, on Promontorium Sallentinum, 6, at Castrum Minervae, 7, at Punta del Tonno, 9–10, in region of Croton, 11, n. 26; Aegean trade in, to Southern Italy and to Sicily, 18–19; Aegean wares moved in, as far north as Liguria, 18, n. 42; finds from, near Populonia, 68; 'Ligurian,' descriptive of civilization of Italy in, 79; traces of, in Gallia Transpadana, 86, 118; stone axes in Latian tombs of, 160.
Neptune helps destroy Troy, 105, 202.
New Troy, Aeneas' camp (city) at mouth of Tiber, near Ostia, well-defended, 138–139, 205; scene of portent of White Sow, 204–205.
Non-metallic materials in *arma* of *Aeneid,* 140, 141, n. 26, 145, 146–147, 150, 154–156, 170, 171–172, 176, 177, 178, 183, 187.

Ocnus, a leader of Aeneas' Mantuan allies, 84; relation of, to Aulestes, 84; connection of, with founding of Mantua, 84; same as Aucnus and Bianor, 85; parentage of, 84, 85; ship of, 86.
Orichalcum, in *arma* of *Aeneid,* 141, 145, 182.
Oscan wall-paintings, *arma* in, 143, 151, 166, 172, n. 115, 177, 192–193.

*Palatium,* derivation of, 45.
Palatium, size of Ardea in comparison with, 30; Evander on, 39–46; traditional date of Evander's coming to, 41.
Pallas (Minerva), Temple of, at Castrum Minervae, 8; at Latinus' city, 59; importance of, to Troy, 104–105; device on *aegis*

of, 170, n. 110; does not save Troy, 105, 202.
*Parma,* used by both armies in *Aeneid,* 170; often assigned to inexperienced warrior, 170; absence of device from, 169, n. 107, 170; contrasted with *clipeus,* 170.
Pelasgians, in Italy, 41, 42; from Thessaly, 41–42, 50; from Arcadia, 42, 50; from Epirus, 47, at Agylla, 47–48, 50–51, 70, n. 17, 73, n. 29; same as Etruscans, 49–50; Leaf's theory concerning meaning of the name of, 49; from Peloponnesus, 50; Vergil's use of, 49–50; at Pisae, Saturnia, Alsium, 70, n. 17.
Pelasgic, alphabet, 50–51; walls, 75.
*Pelta,* carried by troops from Lower Campania and by Amazons, 171; like *caetra,* 171; crescent-shaped, 171; materials of, 171, 178; in art, 171.
Penates speak to sleeping Aeneas, 1; probably at Lavinium, 59; entrusted to Aeneas and borne away from Troy, 105.
Perusia (modern Perugia), traditional founder of, 84; connections of, with Felsina (Bologna) and Mantua, 84; member of Etruscan League, 84; not among allies of Aeneas, 84–85.
Petilia, traditions of founding by Greeks, 2, 6–7; remains of a more primitive settlement of, suggest culture of Locri, 7; site of, partially occupied by modern Strongoli, 7.
*Phalanx,* meaning of, in *Aeneid,* 137.
Phalanx, probably assigned to Trojan and Latin forces, in Aeneid, 137; ancestry of Macedonian, 137, n. 14.
*Phalarica,* derivation of, 153.
*Phalarica,* used only by Turnus, 141, 152; resemblance of, to *pilum,* 152; use of, 152–153; probable origin of, 153.
Phocaeans, at Massilia, 15, n. 34; at Pisae, 70; stoned to death at Caere by captors, 111.
Phoenicians, at Agylla, Punicum, Pyrgi, in Campania and Southern Italy, 48–49; at Astura, 78.
*Pilum,* assigned to Latins in the catalogue of Book VII, but not used in battle, 141; perhaps same as *veru Sabellum,* 148–149; traditional Samnite origin of, 148; accompanies manipular system, 150; resemblance of, to *phalarica,* 152.
Pisae, among Aeneas' allies, 69, 71, 72; reputed origin of, 69–70, 85; Ligurian origin of, 70; Etruscans at, 69, 70–71; relation of, to Etruscan League, 70, n. 23; friendly to Rome, 71; Roman colony at, 71–72; interest of Julian family in, 71–72.
Polygonal walls, not infallible sign of great antiquity, 66; at Pyrgi, 75.
Populonia, among Aeneas' allies, 68; iron industry of, 68; contributed iron to Scipio in Second Punic War, 68; harbor of, 68; neolithic finds, cremation- and inhumation-burials, near, 68; coins of, show Vulcan, 69; Piombino, heir to industrial life of, 69.
Prattica di Mare. See Lavinium.
Prima Porta, statue of Augustus found near, 175.
Privernum, Volscian city, 88; site of, 88, n. 2; a medieval Camilla at, 96.
Proto-Corinthian pottery, at Punta del Tonno, 9, 19; at Cumae, 23–24, n. 58; at Agylla, 52; at Caracupa, 91.
Punta del Tonno, location of, 9; exceptional importance of prehistoric remains at, 9–10, 19.

*Pyrgi,* derivation of, 48–49, 75.
Pyrgi, *veteres,* 73, 75; shrine of Εἰλείθυια (Λευκοθέα) at, 75; port of Caere, 75, 76–77; relation of, to Aeneas' expedition, 73, 76–77.

Regolini-Galassi Tomb, gold and bronze work from, 25; burials in, 51, 118, 122, n. 4; date and wealth of, 74, n. 30; iron dagger from, 167; bronze shields from, 174; no helmets from, 180; gold pectoral from, 185; gold and silver clasps from, 189.
Rocks as weapons, in *Aeneid,* 158; in Homeric battles, 158; in Greek tragedy and history, 158; in Roman Imperial times, 158–159.
Rutuli, an inhuming people, 32, 89, 121, 126, n. 9.

Sabine, Clausus, 135, 169; Aventinus, 148–149; *scutum,* 169, n. 106.
Sallentine Plains. See Campi Sallentini.
Samnium, Rome's military indebtedness to, 132–133, 134, 142–143, 148–149, 150; one type of gladiator named from, 166, 193; favorite adornment of helmet in, 177; use of greaves in, 193.
Satricum (modern Conca), Mater Matuta at, 75, 92; possibly not southernmost Volscian outpost, 89; settled first from Alban Hills, 89, n. 4; important necropolis at, 90, 91–92; Italic city from Early Iron Age to middle of Sixth Century B.C., revealed at, 91–92, 168; Greek and Aegean contacts of, 92; terra cottas from, 154, 176, n. 129, 181, 186, 191.
*Scalae,* of Volscians, 138, n. 18.
*Scutum,* Sabine origin of, 169, 170, n. 108; used by both armies in *Aeneid,* 169–170; interchangeable with *clipeus,* 169–170; compared with *caetra,* 171.
*Scylaceum,* ancient derivation of, 12.
Scylaceum, location of, 9, 12; *navifragum,* 9, 12; traditions of founding of, 12; Greek name of, 12; Roman colony of, 13; retreat of Cassiodorus, 13; pre-Hellenic culture of region of, similar to that at Locri, 13.
Scythians, human sacrifice among, 101–102.
Shield, Latin terms for, 169–171, 173; frequent mention of, 169; types of, 169–172; materials of, 140, 143, 170–172; mass-production of, 171–172; in *Aeneid,* most often in form of round *clipeus,* 172; layers of, 172; *umbo* of, 173; devices on, 169, n. 107, 170, 172, 176; in Esquiline graves and Etruscan tombs, 173–174; pendants on, 173–174; of Aeneas, 143, 174–175; of Turnus, 175–176; of Aventinus, 176; in art, 175, 176, n. 129.
Sibyl, importance of Aeneas' visit to, 2; Cave of, 26–28; prophecies of, 205–206.
Siculi, at Locri, 4–5, Petilia, 7; near Scylaceum, 13; traditions of, in primitive Italy, 41–42, 47, 70, n. 17, 73, n. 29.
*Signa.* See Military standards.
Silvanus, cult of, at Agylla, established by Pelasgians, 46–47; in Etruria, perhaps same as Selvans, 46.
Silver in *arma,* rare in *Aeneid,* 141, 144, 160, 172, 190; not common in Homeric Poems, 144; scant evidence of, in Mycenaean and Etruscan tombs, 140, 189; of Samnites, 143, 192.
Spear, used in beginning war, 140; made of wood treated by fire, 141, 146; Latin terms for,

145; frequency, size, materials of, 145–146; Vergilian, contrasted with Homeric, 146; reserve, 146. See also *Ammentum, Pilum, Veru Sabellum, Aclys teres, Phalarica.*

*Spolia,* magic power of, 139–140; burned at funeral in great quantities, 140.

*Spolia opima,* lend Roman color to narrative, 139.

Sumerians, human sacrifice among, 101.

Sword (including dagger), commoner in *Aeneid* than in *Iliad,* 164, 168; Latin terms for, 164–165; materials of, 140, 165–166; sheath of, 165; *capulus* of, 165; methods of using, 165; size of, 165; blade of, 165–166; *falcatus,* of Oscans, gladiators, in Silius Italicus, in art, 141, 166; iron and bronze blades of, with elaborate handles and sheaths found in primitive burials on Esquiline, in Latium, in Etruria, 166–168; in Mycenaean times, 168; in Vergil's time, 168–169; *dolo,* probably a type of, 148–149.

*Tabula Iliaca,* date and provenance of, 102, n. 15.

Taranto. See Tarentum.

Tarentum (modern Taranto), prehistoric deposits from Balkans, near, 3; Phalantus leads colony to, 9; traditional date of Greek founding of, 9; earlier settlements at Punta del Tonno, northwest of, 9–10; Greek geometric ware in Borgo Nuovo of, 9, n. 22; trade from, 37.

Tarquinii, not included by name among Aeneas' allies, 74–75; ancient, powerful Etruscan city, 75; often unfriendly to Rome, 74–75; port of, 75–77; Roman captives slain by inhabitants of, 111, 113, 119.

Telamon, battle of, 151; deposit of votive objects at, 151, 170–171.

*Teres mucro,* probably same as *dolo,* 148–149.

Terramara settlements, at Punta del Tonno, 9, 19; in *comune* of Mantua, 86.

*Testudo,* Volscian, 138, n. 18.

Tiber, *Lydius Thybris,* 195, 196–197; *Ausonius Thybris,* 197, n. 9; god of, 85, 202.

Tiberius, sword of, 168–169.

Tibur, Venulus comes from, 34; traditional Argive origin of, 34; Catillus, companion of Evander, settles at, 40, n. 95; cult of Hercules at, 44.

Tin in *arma,* of *Aeneid,* lacking, 141–142; in Homeric Poems, 142, n. 27.

Tombs, citations from most famous Etruscan, at Caere, Regolini-Galassi, Tomba dei Rilievi, 162, 180, 191; at Corneto (Tarquinii), Tomba degli Auguri, Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca, Tomba del Morto, Tomba Querciola, 109, Warrior Tomb, 161, 167, 173–174, 185, n. 161; near Orvieto, Tomba Golini, 109; tombs at Sette Camini, 186, 191; at Praeneste (not of unquestioned Etruscan provenance), Barberini Tomb, Bernardini Tomb; at Veii, Tomba Campana, 162, n. 75, tomb of warrior uncovered in 1913–1916, 173–174, 179; at Vetulonia, Circle of Aules Feluskes, 161–162, 179, Devil's Circle, 190, n. 180, 191, First Circle of Le Pelliccie, 180, n. 144, 190, n. 180, 191, Second Circle of Le Pelliccie, 179 (Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans,* Plate 24), Circle of the Trident, 161, Tomba del Duce, 167, 179, n. 139, Tomb of the Three Boats, 190, n. 180, 191; at Vulci, François Tomb, 110. See also

Barberini Tomb, Bernardini Tomb, and Regolini-Galassi Tomb.
Torre San Severo, sarcophagus of, 110.
Trajan's Column, men on, armed with slings, stones, clubs, 158, 159; primitive head-covering of standard-bearers and musicians on, 178, n. 136.
Trojan wanderings in *Aeneid* III, chronological difficulties in, 207–208.
Trojan War Settlements in Italy, traditions of, 2, 4, n. 6, 35–36, 70, *et passim;* possibility of, 3–4, 10.
*Turma,* use of, in *Aeneid,* 136, 139.
*Turris,* for defense of Aeneas' camp, 139; movable, with storeys and *pontes,* at Latinus' city, 139.

*Vallum,* of Aeneas' camp by the Tiber, 139, n. 18.
Veii, Apollo of, 69; siege of, 74, 111; artist from, 93, n. 13; Tomba Campana at, 162; shield with pendants from, 173–174; crested helmet from, 179.
Velletri, cremating Italici at, 89; terra cottas of, 93, n. 13, 160–161.
Venus, invoked by Aeneas, 107; sacrifices to, 200; guide of the Trojans, 199–202; wife of Anchises, 200; temples to, 200, n. 14; mother and protectress of Aeneas, 201.
*Veru Sabellum,* assigned in the Catalogue of Book VII only to Latin troops, and not used in subsequent fighting, 141; not suitable for troops of Aventinus, 148; perhaps same as *pilum,* 148–149.
*Vexillum,* the *belli signum* displayed by Turnus, 138; use of, very ancient, 138; lends Roman coloring to narrative, 137–138.
Volscians, fitting climax of Latin Catalogue of Book VII, 87; Vergil's estimate of, 87; historic conflict of, with Rome, 87, 88; territory and civilization of, in *Aeneid,* 88; relations of, with Etruscans, 88, 93–94; troops of, 87, 88; language and racial connections of, 88–89, 90, 92; practised inhumation, 89; preceded by cremating Italici, 89–90, 91; chief cemeteries of, 90–92; civilization of, 88, 90–93; methods of attack by, 138, n. 18.
Vulcan, on coins of Populonia, 69; cult of, at Perusia, 69; brought by Etruscans to Italy, 69, n. 15.

War-Chariot, in Homer, 131; in *Aeneid,* 131–132; in primitive Italy, 131–132, 133.
Warfare in *Aeneid,* necessary, 129–130; contrasted with Homeric fighting, 130–131, 134; Italian color of, 130, 137–138, 139, 140, 158; primitive atmosphere of, 134–135. See also names of divisions of troops (e.g., *legio*), of means of attacking or defending camps (e.g., *turris*), of weapons.
Watsch, location of, 147, 164; bronze plaque from, 147, 164.
White Sow, portent of, 2; conflicts in story of, 204–205; scene of portent of, 205.

University of St. Francis
GEN 873.1 S255
Saunders
Vergil's primitive Italy
3 0301 00035226 6